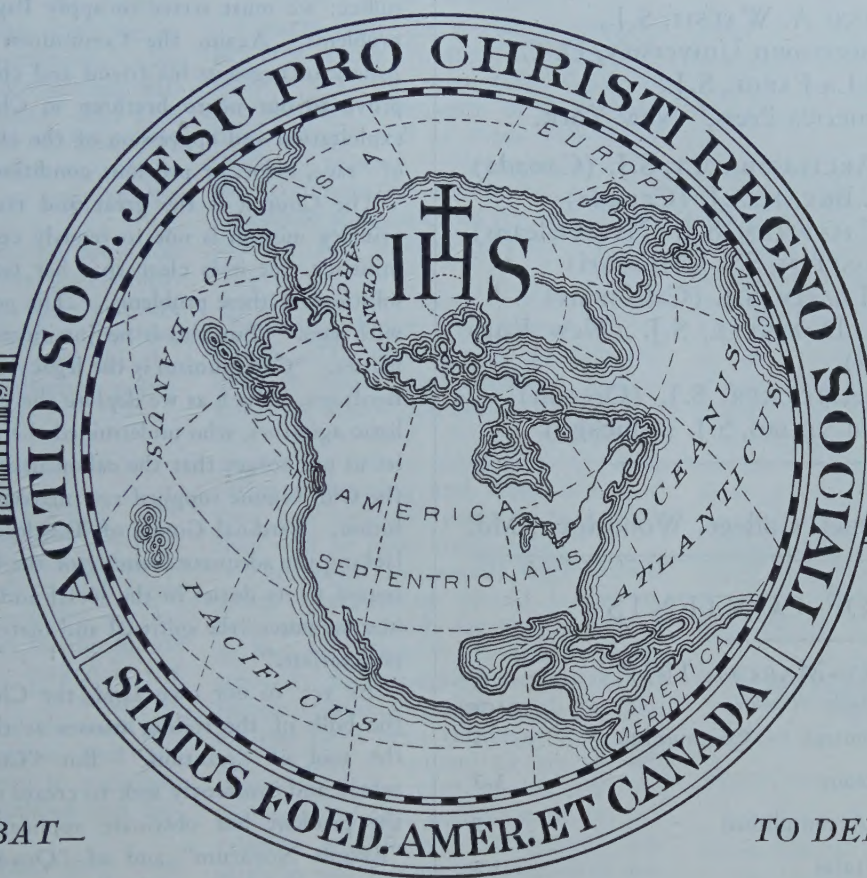


INFORMATIONES ET NOTITIAE

INFORMATION ON COMMUNISM AND INTERNATIONAL ATHEISM



TO COMBAT—

Atheism
Communism
Unholy Greed

TO DEFEND—

Divine Truth
The Christian State
The Charity of Christ

VOL. II

■ ■ ■

FEBRUARY—MARCH, 1937

Double Number

■ ■ ■

Nos. 4-5

Informationes et Notitiae

NEWS BULLETIN

on

COMMUNISM and INTERNATIONAL ATHEISM

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Double Number

Editor-in-Chief: LAWRENCE K. PATTERSON, S.J.,
Woodstock College, Woodstock, Md.

Associate Editors: { EDMUND A. WALSH, S.J.,
Georgetown University, D. C.
JOHN LA FARGE, S.J.,
"America Press," New York.

Contributing Editors: { J. P. ARCHAMBAULT, S.J. (Canada)
W. X. BRYAN, S.J. (Canada)
C. C. CHAPMAN, S.J. (New Orleans)
J. HUSSLEIN, S.J. (Missouri)
C. E. LEAHY, S.J. (California)
J. MACDONNELL, S.J. (New Eng-
land)
J. McASTOCKER, S.J. (Oregon)
F. SIEDENBURG, S.J. (Chicago)

Editorial Office:
Woodstock College, Woodstock, Md.

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EDITORIAL

Mere negation will never adequately meet the menace of the Communist "Common Front." A few examples of its subtle strategy may be cited.

The American people have a deep and sincere longing for peace. The masses detest the thought of our nation becoming involved in another Armageddon. Subtly and constantly the propagandists of the "Common Front" preach the doctrine that Soviet Russia is the great bulwark of world peace. In cooperation with the U. S. S. R., they assert, lies the great defense against the menace of "War and Fascism."

It is well to expose the fallacy of "Communist Pacifism." But American Catholics must also support positive policies to promote the cause of peace; mere generalities will not suffice; we must strive to apply Papal principles to concrete problems. Again, the Communist depicts himself to the American negro as his friend and champion. Catholics must prove to our negro brethren in Christ that we oppose the exploitation and oppression of the children of God, regardless of "race, color, or previous condition of servitude."

The Church is the great and true "International." Her primary mission is not to remedy economic abuses and social injustice, yet it is clear that her teaching contains the root solutions to these problems. "The poor you shall have always with you." But this is no justification for oppression of the masses. "Communism is the legacy of duty neglected," writes Berdyaev. Much as we deplore the Communistic and syndicalistic agitators, who undermined the faith of millions in Spain, let us not forget that the callousness of many Catholics under the Old Regime supplied raw material for the torch of Revolution. Cardinal Goma, of Toledo, has written: "There was lacking the adequate training of the Christian conscience with regard to its duties in the social and political order." Father Maréna notes "the spiritual and material misery of the Spanish proletariat."

As yet, in our own land, the Church is not regarded by the bulk of the toiling masses as the ally of exploiters and the tool of "reaction." But "Common Front" agitators subtly and insistently seek to create such an impression. Only the prudent but obstinate application of the doctrines of "Rerum Novarum" and of "Quadragesimo Anno" to our concrete problems can finally and adequately meet the menace of such propaganda. As Father Archambault writes: "We must strive gradually to substitute a more humane regime for the present economic dictatorship." Let us ponder once more the strong words of Pius XI: "Free competition cannot be the ruling principle of the economic world." "Most severely must be condemned the foolhardiness of those who neglect to remove conditions which exasperate the minds of the people, and so pave the way for the ruin of the social order." "There are some who can abuse religion itself, cloaking their unjust impositions under its name."

LAWRENCE KENT PATTERSON, S.J.



Part I

Home Survey



American Plan of Government vs. Communism

In "Our Sunday Visitor," January 17, 1937, by David Kinley, President of the University of Illinois

ALTHOUGH its advocates differ on some minor details, we may describe Communism as a proposed system of society in which all instruments of production and the control of distribution of wealth shall be in the hands of the "government." Its advocates assert that Communism will introduce "economic justice" and free the workers from the tyranny of bosses and the bourgeoisie, or middle class, who are alleged to own all the capital.

The establishment and perpetuation of such a system involves, as communists themselves admit, class warfare and hatred, civil war, with a destruction of private property and the destruction of liberty—economic, political, social, and religious.

REDS MUST USE FORCE

Engels, as quoted by Fraina in "The Russian Revolution," says: "The proletariat will use its political supremacy to wrest, by degrees, all capital from the bourgeoisie; to centralize all instruments of production in the hands of the state." Lenin is quoted in the same volume as saying: "It would be the greatest stupidity and the most absurd optimism to suppose that the transition from capitalism to socialism is possible without compulsion and dictatorship."

It is difficult to understand how communistic production could give as favorable results as our present system of industry. Men work either because they wish to do so for purposes of their own or because they are forced to do so, like slaves. Under Communism each would be assigned his work or job by somebody else, irrespectively of his own wishes. That somebody else would determine what he should do and how much, and when, and where. Initiative would be killed, enthusiasm deadened, and each would produce only as little as would enable him to "get by." Government agents in in-

dustry are not more honest than private managers, and certainly are less experienced.

NEED ABSOLUTE SUBMISSION

Clearly then, the worker would not be free from "bosses." Lenin remarked that the revolution "demands the absolute submission of the masses to the single will of those who direct the labor process." Again he says that the communistic revolution requires "absolute submission to the will of one person, the Soviet Director, during work."

Communism would destroy the Christian religion and, indeed, all religion. The activities of the communists in Russia and elsewhere against religious instruction and worship make this very evident. Stalin is reported as saying: "Keep children away from religious training and home life until they are eighteen years of age, then they will be good communists."

The social and moral degeneration which Communism would bring has been shown clearly by the conditions in Russia. Family life has been destroyed; the tenderest sentiments of family relationship and social companionship have been ruthlessly trampled out. Lenin is quoted as saying further: "Religion must be abolished, the best country is a godless country. If religion would pass out quietly, our attitude will be one of benevolent tolerance. But if it resists, we will hasten its exit by violence proportionate to its resistance." The late head of the educational system of the Soviet Republic has remarked: "We hate Christianity and Christians; even the best of them must be considered as our worst enemies. They preach love of one's neighbor and mercy, which is contrary to our principles. . . . What we need is hatred."

DICTATOR DECIDES EVERYTHING

Communists propose that, all agriculture and industry having been taken

over by the government, the distribution of their product to each member of the community shall be according to the dictates of the ruling communists. I have never seen a proposed plan of wealth distribution of either Socialism or Communism which does not involve deprivation of freedom. What each one of us "needs" or "deserves" from our productive effort is to be determined by some dictator or dictating group.

To sum the matter up: Communism is economically unsound, religiously atheistic, socially destructive, ethically indefensible, and morally debasing. Certainly there is much that is wrong in our present social arrangements, a statement that is true of every form of society that history has known. But Communism is not the road to its elimination. The right road is along an ideal practice of the law of love, faith in God, deeper sense of personal responsibility for one's neighbors for social progress and for righteousness, a deeper and wider feeling of the brotherhood of man.

SOVIETS FROWN ON PHILIPPINES

From *Our Sunday Visitor*, Jan. 3, 1937

Manila, P. I.

DEAR EDITOR:

The Soviets of Russia—the Commune and the Third International—are frowning darkly on the Philippines. Here is the only Catholic nation in the Far East, 12,000,000 of its 14,000,000 people professing the Faith brought them by Spain five centuries ago. And here from February 3 to 7 a great international Eucharistic Congress is to be held in Manila.

Pilgrims will come from every land. Europe, Asia, the Americas will send their legions to honor the Eucharistic King on the altars reared by the padres centuries ago.

The Soviets and the Commune have been quietly at work in the islands for some years. Their work was paved for them by well-intentioned perhaps but misguided missionaries of some sects.

These missionaries told the Filipinos that the Catholic Faith in which they had been reared is an old superstition planted in the hearts of their fathers by the Spanish padres.

The Filipino wants to be like the white man. He wants to do things the white man does. The enemy was quick to seize on this. He explained that the Catholic Faith was no longer of the white man's mode or way, that it was outworn, something to be cast off like an old garment.

The Catholic Church in the Philippines was seemingly lethargic. Of late, however, under the inspiration of the Primate of the Philippines—Archbishop O'Doherty, of Manila—the Church has girded for the fight. It is defending that which it won five centuries ago. It has launched a vast program of education for the young. There are 60 Catholic colleges, academies, and institutions over the islands. In Manila alone there are 22 Catholic educational institutions. Added to these are 150 parochial schools and hundreds of catechetical centers in *barrios* (towns). Twelve seminaries in the islands are training young men for the priesthood.

The work of the Church in the Philippines in holding that which it wins against the tide of atheism, Communism, Protestantism, and masonry is titanic. This is made so because of the shortage of native priests. Eleven hundred priests are in the field for parochial work in 986 parishes with 12,000,000 Catholics. Only 800 of these are native born.

The Church must have vocations—more and more of them. And under the inspiration of the approaching Eucharistic Congress, a spiritual awakening has taken place among the Filipino people. Hundreds of thousands are going to confession, receiving communion and swarming their beautiful old churches at Masses.

The Russian Soviets and Commune and the Third International see slipping from their grasp that which they thought the Protestant missionaries had unwittingly placed at their mercy—the Faith of a people.

The oncoming legions of pilgrims from the great white nations in Manila February 3 to 7, honoring the Eucharistic King where their Fathers honored HIM have convinced the Filipinos that they were being made the pawns in a cruel game for their souls.

Sincerely yours,

FRED V. WILLIAMS.

RADICALS AMONG COLLEGE STUDENTS

Our Sunday Visitor, Jan. 31, 1937

The *National Republic* (not the *New Republic*, which is ultra-radical) is authority for the following statement:

Over 500 students at the University of New York cheered the address of Earl Browder on behalf of Communism on October 23, 1936. The meeting was held under the auspices of the Karl Marx Society of the University.

A poll taken at Harvard University shows that there are at least 105 Communists and Socialists among its students. Similar polls elsewhere show 270 students at the University of California; 121 at Yale; 102 at Dartmouth; 64 at Princeton; 513 at Brooklyn; 197 at Columbia; 411 at the University of Chicago; 122 at Idaho College.

The poll taken among the Young Men's Hebrew Association of New York City showed 182 Socialists and Communists.

Because of the ousting of Robert Burke, a Communist, from Columbia University, 800 fellow-students walked out on a two-hour strike on October 21, 1936, the call being issued by the Communist American Student Union.

Three thousand, five hundred youths, members of the Young Communist League, assembled in St. Nicholas Palace, New York City, October 26, 1936, to hear several Communist speakers.

COMMUNISTS GAIN GROUND IN MUNICIPAL ELECTIONS IN CANADA

The editors have received from Rev. W. X. Bryan, S.J., a very significant statistical analysis of the gains made by Communism in various Canadian cities. Our associate editor from Canada made a very detailed report on the results, which show:

(a) In certain municipalities Communist candidates displaced their opponents for the first time, as in Brandon, Manitoba, and Mimico, Ontario.

(b) In other cities, though defeated for election, Communist candidates received an impressive vote far in excess of previous years. Thus, Tim Buck, notorious Canadian Communist, had received only 9,935 votes for the Board of Control of Toronto in 1935. In the last election, 1937, he received 31,342 votes. Though beaten, he thus enormously increased his followers. That represented a gain of 10,367 over 1936, in which year he gained

some 11,000 over 1935. The same progress is noted for other candidates.

(c) Commenting on the Toronto elections, Norman Freed, Communist Party election manager, said:

"I express sincere thanks on behalf of the election committee and our candidates to the thousands of voters and workers who took part in the campaign. Thirty-four thousand men and women marched to the polls for the programme and standard bearers of the Communist Party.

"It is a great victory. Toronto the Tory is cracking up and is becoming Toronto the Progressive. The great lesson in the campaign is the need of uniting labour and all progressive forces, trade unions and the C. C. F. They can and must unite to build a Toronto Labour-Progressive Party so they can place a united labour slate next year.

"The City Council will have in its ranks Stewart Smith, and the Board of Education John Weir.

"Their work will further prove how Communists can carry out their duties in the city government. We appeal to our C. C. F. Comrades and friends that it is time that we all join forces.

"The people in Toronto have united at the polls, let us unite in every-day struggle. We are marching to victory."

FATHER M'KEON WRITES OF SPLENDID WORK IN PHILA.

Catholic Worker, Jan., 1937.

St. Joseph's College, Phila.
School of Social Sciences.

DEAR EDITOR:

I am convinced as you are convinced, that education comes first. To start action without reflection and knowledge will only end in disaster.

We are teaching a good cross-section of American people. We have many labor men in the school, we have teachers from the public schools and Catholic college students. No matter what walk of life they come from, they return to that walk of life with a thoroughly Catholic viewpoint of the social order. They become apostles.

SOUND TEACHING

Many are learning correct social principles for the first time. All, irrespective of their former beliefs, are encouraged to express themselves. They know that there is one place in the city where they feel at home to present

their difficulties and receive sound answers and guidance.

We have an organization and we have a reputation. As you say, to be connected with an accredited college is far better than to be an independent group. Laymen will find great difficulty in starting a similar movement without financial backing. We have the buildings and resources for such a project.

I have sent all necessary data to Loyola University in Chicago. If they begin there, it will mean other schools of the Midwest will follow.

COOPERATION

Several of our students have started a cooperative branch in a nearby parish. We are aiding them in every way. We are also connected with the Central Cooperative. One week we had a full bulletin board display of co-op literature. Last week we had a panel discussion. Our courses cover the cooperative movement principles thoroughly.

Our students have been handing out literature at the various strikes in the city. In fact, two girls had some matter printed at their own expense and distributed it. Others cover all Communist meetings in Philadelphia and then report on what is going on. The new Workers' School in Philadelphia is boasting that they have 1,100 enrolled for the second term.

Our outside speakers include chaplains from the jails for criminology, doctors for public health problems, and social workers who explain their approach to social problems. If you can visit us at any time you will be most welcome.

PRAYER

Our Eucharistic Committee has just reported the following:

In reparation for the outrages against the Church—

Masses	519
Spiritual Communions	65
Aspirations	300
Offering to the Christ Child—	
Masses	316
Stations of the Cross.....	181
Rosaries	363
Aspirations	10,000

We are insisting that without prayer we cannot reform the social order.

We gave out over 150 Christmas baskets through our social service committee. We have plenty of old clothes which also go to the poor through the St. Vincent de Paul Society, the Little Sisters of the Poor, and other groups, as well as to individuals.

I fear, however, that I am wearying you with so many details. I shall hurry to close.

May the Infant Jesus bless you and your coworkers in every way. I need not stress the example you are setting for clergy and lay people. We distribute your paper to our students.

I remembered you in my Christmas Masses, and so with best wishes and love in Christ, I am,

Very sincerely,

REV. RICHARD M. McKEON, S.J.

THIS FIGHT AGAINST COMMUNISM

From University of Notre Dame *Religious Bulletin*, Jan. 19, 1937

The Tech, student paper of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, laments editorially, in its issue of January 8, that Notre Dame alumni and faculty members are being "regimented" to fight Communism—which, by the way, has a rather nifty record of its own in this matter of regimentation.

"There is no consideration of the possibility," says the editorial, "that perhaps an investigation of Communism will lead to the conclusion that it is not dangerous enough to get excited about—perhaps even that it has a few good points. But the question is not going to be approached with anything like an open mind . . . if Notre Dame is drafted in this activity the term 'university' in its name is being perverted."

Shame, shame, Notre Dame! Let's try to see the awful, unscholarly business that you have undertaken. An analogy may help.

Alumni of a university—good, sappy old fellows, you know—come to the conclusion, from their reading and observation, that forgers and thieves, rapists and kidnapers, bank robbers and murderers, constitute a growing menace to society. Nothing scientific here, of course.

Well, the alumni have recourse to their university for scientific data on crime. Certain faculty members set about the business of supplying facts to alumni speech-makers. Neither the alumni nor the faculty members proceed, it seems, with an open mind toward crime. It is all a frame-up. They are against crime from the beginning. The good points—the fact, for instance, that skillful criminals earn a swell livelihood in crime—never has a chance to come to light. In its actions against crime the university is perverted. It is just another case of that hideous regimentation.

But, who in the world would say that Communism is comparable to crime? Why, according to the young editorial writer on *The Tech*, Communism in the United States seems to be

just a harmless little playfellow hardly able to climb over the horizon of thought. Is Communism, after all, so bad and dangerous that we should get excited about it?

Well, these points about Communism might be mentioned: as a philosophy of life, it denies the existence of God (the basis of all reasonable morality); it seeks to destroy *all* religion, repudiates any noble purpose for man's existence on earth. As a political organization here in the United States, Communism is absolutely controlled by Moscow; in this country, as in Russia, it would take away from man his freedom of speech and of the press, his freedom of religion and of assemblage, his freedom of education. As a system of economics, it would make man the slave of an economic state tyranny, would put women, as a set policy, into the factories and into the armies, would nationalize children, would make of America (what it has made of Russia) a vast economic prison with workers like inmates who labor in a prison.

This is Communism. Is it really imminent and dangerous? Tish, tish. THERE ARE MORE COMMUNISTS IN THE UNITED STATES TODAY THAN THERE WERE IN RUSSIA WHEN THE COMMUNISTS SEIZED CONTROL; and Communists themselves declare openly that their purposes can only be achieved BY THE VIOLENT OVERTHROW OF ALL OTHER ORDERS OF SOCIETY.

CATHOLIC AGRARIAN PROGRAM

Resolutions: National Catholic Rural Life Conference, Fargo, October 14, 1936

- 1—We lay the present social and economic disorders at the door of materialistic philosophy, furthered by anti-Christian teaching.
- 2—Religion is the necessary groundwork of true American culture, for religion alone can harmonize the preservation of historic tradition and the development of organic social and economic life with participation in world progress.
- 3—The family is the unit of society, and as such is the model and basis of social order, obtained through cooperation and collaboration of individuals, groups, and classes.
- 4—Widely distributed ownership of the land should be encouraged and preserved, while tenancy and the one-crop system of farming should be combated as serious evils and sound governmental

measures to that end should be endorsed.

- 5—We commend the heroic fortitude of the citizens of the drought-stricken regions in coping with the devastating forces of nature, and we urge the adoption and prosecution of adequate governmental measures for their relief. We hope that the Missouri River Water Diversion Project may be carried through for the sake of its economic and social benefits.
- 6—Agricultural laborers deserve sympathy in their efforts to better their condition by organization.
- 7—The family-sized farm should be our ideal and should therefore be favored by our laws as opposed to large-scale capitalistic and industrial agriculture.
- 8—The cooperative movement, when inspired by Christian principles, is essential to economic and social reform. Projects now on foot to further adult education in the cooperative movement, its methods and principles, deserve our commendation.
- 9—Parish credit unions and parish credit-union conferences are to be promoted by every means possible.
- 10—For the sake of religiously underprivileged children we urge the formation of units of the National Confraternity of Christian Doctrine in our rural parishes.
- 11—Organized effort of priests and religious is necessary in order to bring the truths of religion to the 60 per cent of the American people who are not affiliated with any church group. The proposed establishment of the American Society of Home Missions to operate in the rural sections of the United States which hold a strategic position with regard to the growth of Catholicism throughout our nation, is worthy of our serious consideration and commendation.
- 12—Rural children should have adequate educational opportunity, and rural teachers be given such preparation in our Catholic universities and teacher-trainer institutes as will acquaint them fully with our national life, rural, urban, industrial, and agricultural.
- 13—All children, regardless of race, creed, or color, whether they attend public or parochial schools, are entitled to participate in the transportation facilities and other services, such as vocational training in agriculture and home arts, rendered by the public authorities at the taxpayers' expense to school children outside of the regular classroom curriculum. Recent de-

cisions as to bus transportation for school children in New York and other states are a confirmation of such a just claim.

- 14—Rural study clubs for adults and 4-H clubs for rural youth are a useful and important means of arousing an intelligent interest in rural life and of laying the foundation for constructive traits of character and the development of rural culture.
- 15—The Diocesan Rural Life Directors' Section of our organization respectfully urges the Bishops of the United States to appoint Diocesan Rural Life Directors, where such have not already been appointed.

They realize that the philosophy and the objective of the Catholic Rural Life movement can only be carried out through dioceses and parishes.

They urge the full use of the facilities offered by the Rural Life Bureau of the N. C. W. C. in Washington, D. C.

They hope that the Regional Institute of Catholic Rural Life Directors will be fruitful instruction centers and forums for the details

of the Catholic Rural Life movement.

With these desires and requests the Catholic Rural Life Conference associates itself as a whole.

COMMUNIST ELEMENTS IN MIDDLE ATLANTIC CONFERENCE OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS CLUBS

The fifth Middle Atlantic Conference of International Relations Clubs, held at the University of Delaware, Newark, Del., on December 4 and 5, 1936, was attended by some 200 delegates from 56 universities, colleges, and state normal schools.

Georgetown College was represented by Messrs. John W. English, Michael Farrell, Noel Ryan, of the Senior Class, and Tibor Kerekes, faculty adviser.

THE PURPOSE OF THE INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS CLUBS

The International Relations Clubs are groups of students organized under the auspices of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, in the universities, colleges, and normal schools for the study and discussion of international problems.

The purpose of the endowment in undertaking this work is to educate and enlighten public opinion. As Dr. Nicholas Murray Butler, president of the endowment, states officially, "It is not to support any single view as how best to treat the conditions which now prevail throughout the world, but to fix the attention of students on the underlying principles of international conduct of international law, and of international organization which must be agreed upon and applied if peaceful civilization is to continue." In the above words of the Carnegie Endowment explains the purpose of the International Relations Clubs. From these very words the importance of this organization is evident, especially if we realize that in the continental United States alone there are at present 625 clubs.

OBSERVATIONS ON THE MIDDLE ATLANTIC CONFERENCE

1. The International Relations Clubs play an ever-growing influence in the formation of opinion on international problems among the students of our colleges and teachers' training schools. Admission to the student clubs is usually on the basis of high scholastic standing in the social science subjects.

Kagawa Anniversary

Cooperative Conference

To be held Friday Noon to Saturday Noon

January 22 and 23

Friends' Meeting House,
15th and Race Streets

Bringing to Philadelphia

FR. COADY Of Nova Scotia

Noted leader from Saint Francis Xavier University, Antigonish, who has played a significant part in the dramatic development of cooperatives among the fisher folk, farmers, and other working class groups in Nova Scotia, will be the main speaker and leader of the Conference. The story of peaceful economic reconstruction in Nova Scotia through consumer and producer cooperatives and credit unions is considered to be one of the outstanding social achievements on the American continent.

By limiting the number of active members, a certain exclusiveness is attached to these organizations. Occasional general meetings to which the whole student body is invited give opportunity to the club members to show their versatility in and knowledge of international problems and to inculcate the students with that interpretation upon which the club members agreed among themselves.

2. The very nature of such an organization lends itself to propagandistic exploitation. The faculty adviser and a few forensically excellent students can easily dominate the group in the club, and through it the students of the institution in general.

3. Such an organization can conveniently be used by outside interests to direct and dominate the thought of the group, as for instance the Middle Atlantic Conference has shown. There, at the discussion of democracy versus

dictatorship principally the leftist radical view was expressed; the danger of Fascism was exaggerated, and that of Communism minimized or completely eliminated. Under the cloak of attack upon Fascism a general attack was made upon church, private property, capitalism, etc. In fact, any institution, thought, or movement tending to oppose the spread and growth of Communism was dubbed Fascism, so that a sharp line, arbitrarily drawn, placed Communism on one side and everything else on the other, under the general title of Fascism. Thus the philosophy of the "popular front" received very clear expression and practical demonstration.

4. Catholic schools were poorly represented at the conference. It seems that Catholic institutions do not appreciate the importance of the International Relations Clubs and consequently did not establish them in their

schools. Delegates from Catholic schools were very poorly prepared, so that they remained silent even when Catholic principles were under attack, and when they did participate in the discussion they displayed a confused mind. Very few of them understood the meaning and implication of Communism, and one delegate from a well-known eastern Catholic college for men went so far as to endorse Communism unreservedly. The only Catholic institution which persistently participated in the discussions and by combating radical thought represented the minority group, was Georgetown.

Georgetown University was also the only Jesuit school represented, although the conference composed all institutions within the geographical extent of the Maryland-New York Province.

TIBOR KEREKES.

What Communism Has Accomplished

The editors of INFORMATIONES ET NOTITIAE have frequently warned against the error of attacking Communism without offering a satisfactory substitute of a constructive nature. But it will often help the uninformed who may be wavering to have a definite picture of Communism as it operates in the only land where it has enjoyed full sway. The following compilation, which we have received from Philadelphia, is a powerful argument.

THE WORKERS' PARADISE

American Workers, Throw Off Your Chains—Go to Russia, the Workers' Paradise

Where—Over three million peasants starved to death in a government-organized famine in 1932-1933.

Where—The ordinary worker receives 190 rubles (about \$7) a month, the price of one pair of shoes.

Where—Strikes for higher wages or lower hours are regarded as counter-revolutionary, an offense against the state punishable with exile to Siberia or Solovetsky Island, or with death.

Where—Trade unions don't function for the workers' benefit but are under the complete control of Stalin.

Where—Tomsky, the former head of the Soviet trade unions, was dismissed by Stalin for defending the interests of the workers.

Where—There is a tyrannical dictatorship by a few and ultimately by a single person, Stalin, over all the workers.

Where—The factory worker's meal is bread, cabbage, soup, and grits.

Where—There are five different classes in society and the factory workers, the most poorly treated, are in the lowest class.

Where—The party leaders have automobiles, fine homes and food, while the workers, very, very few of whom have autos, slave for the party machine.

Where—There is no unemployment but where the employed are slaves, worse off than the employed prisoners in our jails.

Where—The worker is considered as having no human rights but is a mere cog employed to advance the interests of the Communist Party.

Where—It is a crime punishable with death to leave the country without permission, a permission seldom granted; the country is one big prison almost impossible to escape from.

Where—Millions of workers would rejoice if they could escape and come to a free country, the United States.

Where—According to law Nov. 1932, an individual absent from work for a single day without excuse is liable to immediate dismissal, and loss of

his living quarters if he dwells on the company premises.

Where—Several railway officials have been shot after train wrecks, and hundreds of workers killed on trumped-up sabotage charges.

Where—It would be well to retain your passport so that you could return.

Where—You with your passport will be envied by many unfortunate Russian laborers.

Where—About 200,000 workers were engaged in forced labor to construct the Baltic-White Sea Canal, a work for which all of Hitler's and Mussolini's prisoners in concentration camps would hardly have supplied one shift.

Where—Since 1929 millions of people have been banished into concentration camps, where they live in conditions much worse than the destitute and unemployed in western Europe and America.

Where—The employed and even the better paid Russians are more poorly dressed than the unemployed in the United States.

Where—A five-room apartment houses

four and five families, with consequent rapid spread of infectious diseases, and constant conflicts over the use of the communal kitchen.

Where—The unskilled laborers in new construction plants live in overcrowded barracks which are filled with vermin and provided with most primitive sanitary facilities.

Where—The Stakhanov movement, the "Heroes of Labor" movement,

is in progress, a speed-up device against which organized labor has complained in other countries; a movement for higher productivity and no increase in pay.

Where—No organized opposition to the Stakhanov movement is possible.

Where—The elegant, luxurious homes are reserved for Soviet functionaries and the officers of the Red Army.

Where—Women enjoy a new emanci-

pation—the privilege and opportunity to dig subways, lay railway tracks, and cut timber in forced labor camps.

Where—In Leningrad only one British sailor ever left his ship, and he afterward proved to be insane.

Workers of America, choose; throw off your chains. Which do you prefer the slavery of America or the freedom and Workers' Paradise of Russia?

Atheism in the United States

SIX HUNDRED CENTERS IN THIS COUNTRY

A Bulletin issued by American Women Against Communism, incorporated in the District of Columbia as a nonprofit organization. Box 296, Grand Central Annex, New York, N. Y.

IF THE influence of Christ and His religion prevails broadly, Communism, Socialism, anarchy, syndicalism, and other brands of materialism cannot make alarming inroads. For that reason, God and religion are the special targets of the subversive forces. Since governments constituted by man on the basis of Christian principles bind the religious influences together into a formidable force for good, such governments are also the targets of subversivism. Because the home and family and their influence for good are creatures of God's teachings and are encouraged and protected by governments established on Christian principles, they, too, are targets of the Marxian forces.

Atheism is a world-wide movement. The Marxian movements are the creators and supporters of it throughout the world. The greatest stronghold of atheism today is Russia; . . . one finds the government founded on atheistic principles, protecting atheism and discouraging and destroying Christianity.

While the fight against Christ can be traced back centuries, the present-day organized movement begins with the world organization of Marxism. The First, Second, and Third Internationals spread the anti-Christ propaganda. This organized theory is to be found in the "Communist Manifesto," which is the bible of the followers of Marx, Communists, and Socialists. In this sacrilegious document, Karl Marx and Frederick Engels emphasize the fight against God, His teachings and the church, the government based upon the principles of Christianity, the home, and the family. From the "Communist Manifesto," present day Marxian movements take their cues.

Very few, if any, of our readers are influenced by the proponents of the various un-Christianlike, communistic,

and socialistic isms that have apparently spun a vast web of atheism, as well as Communism and Socialism, over our nation, and, therefore, they may be enlightened to know that there are now in the United States *some six hundred or more* national movements of this character, having thousands of state and local branches and hundreds of propaganda organs which are blanketing the country with their poisonous attacks.

One new combination in the field of atheism should be sufficient to prove the seriousness of the situation. In January, 1933, the radical publisher, Haldeman-Julius, of Kansas, launched a new publication. His pockets were no doubt already overflowing with the gold collected through sales of his Socialist, Communist, sex, trial marriage, atheist, and birth-control periodicals and pamphlets. The new publication, which was named *The Militant Atheist*, began in January with a circulation of 1,540. The September number had reached 4,051, a gain of 2,511 subscribers within only eight months. This anti-God sheet, the size of a daily newspaper, is edited by E. Haldeman-Julius and "Rev." Joseph McCabe. It contains ballyhoo articles on atheism, on Russia, on the Oxford Movement, on Professor Einstein, on Karl Marx, on revolution, and derides Catholicism, Protestantism, and the Church and God, Himself.

There are scores of atheistic movements in the United States issuing literature such as that issued by the Haldeman-Julius publishers, one of the largest distributors of atheistic filth in the country. "The American Association for the Advancement of Atheism," one of the main anti-God movements, is an organization with national headquarters in New York City. It is attempting to abrogate all laws enforce-

ing Christian morals; to stop "bootlegging of religion in public schools"; to stop "issuance of religious proclamations by Government officials," such as Thanksgiving, etc.; to tax ecclesiastical property; to repeal Sunday (blue law) legislation; to tax and nationalize church property. It maintains a youth group, "The Junior Atheist League," which enrolls children between the ages of 7 and 17. These carry on a program of propagation.

"The Society of the Godless" fights against Bible reading. It sponsors lectures and debates for the atheist cause in the United States. The "American Anti-Bible Society," organized to prevent the use and belief in the Bible; "College Liberal Clubs," "Hedonic Hosts of Hell-Bent Heathens," "Thespian Society," the "Church Taxation League," the "Conception Controlled Society," "Free Speech Defense League," "World Union of Atheists," "Sons of Satan," the Socialist and Communist Parties and their hundreds of subsidiary movements, the "Proletarian Anti-Religious League," the "Damned Souls," the "Ingersoll Forum," evolutionist movements, birth control organizations, the "American Rationalist Association," "National Society of Freethinkers," the "American Secular Union," the "Anti-Religious Workers' League," etc., are only a few of the far-reaching atheistic movements in this country.

The program of the "Truthseekers" seeks "to educate the people out of religious superstition." It denies the infallibility of the Bible and "denies the existence of the theological heaven and hell." It upholds the theory of evolution. It believes in free speech, free press, and free mails. It demands that church and ecclesiastical property be exempt no longer from taxation. It

combats the use of chaplains in the army and navy, prisons and asylums, militia and legislatures. It opposes public appropriations for educational and charitable institutions of a sectarian character. It demands that all religious services now sustained by the Government be abolished. It opposes the use of the Bible in schools. It demands the cessation of the appointment (by officials) of religious festivals and fasts. It demands the discontinuance of judicial oaths in courts and Government departments. It fights for

the abolition of Sunday observance laws and the repeal of all laws directly or indirectly enforcing Christian morality. . . .

This degraded, imported, anti-God theory and activity in the United States is only one of the many activities the highly financed and powerfully organized radicals, Socialists, Communists, and anarchists have established for the purpose of breaking down the moral fiber of the people and at the same time destroying their patriotism and respect for organized government, law,

and order.—*National Republic Lettergram.*

Please report all local communistic activities to our headquarters. Write for our free anti-communistic literature.

Additional copies of this bulletin may be had upon request; show it to your friends.

We need your assistance to aid us in producing and distributing this and similar literature. Make all checks payable to our treasurer.

Catholics in an Agnostic Society

By BERNARD WALL, Editor, "The Colosseum"

Reprint from "The Christian Front," Villanova, Pa., Sociology Leaflet No. 1.

IT HAS often been pointed out—in recent years the idea can be found recurring in the books of Christopher Dawson—that Catholicism has tended in history to create a culture of its own: and the primary object of the Church, which is the salvation of men's souls, brings with it a secondary object, a need to order human life along certain lines. These lines we can call the lines of a Catholic culture. Catholic cultures are rare today, but they still exist in several parts of Europe and America, wherever groups of individuals, whether in village communities or in the state, are believing Catholics in the vast majority, and apply Catholic ideas to their relationships with one another. Sometimes it can be said that their lives are *saturated* with Catholicism. Anybody who knows the village communities in parts of Austria or Spain or Ireland or Poland can testify to this.

But the great part of the modern world is secularized, and the vast majority of modern people live lives ordered according to a schema which is fundamentally different from the sort of life that Catholicism naturally tends to create. Being an integral Catholic in modern America or England is much more difficult than it is in a thoroughly Catholic atmosphere. Often we do not realize this clearly, because we see the great devotion of Catholics in non-Catholic milieus, and we are often inclined to say that Catholicism is at its best when it is a minority and even a persecuted minority. We forget the extraordinary subtle ways in which our non-Catholic milieus can influence us, and that we frequently absorb ideals and habits of life from our surroundings which make an integral Catholicism very difficult to realize.

The fact that in English speaking countries there is no direct persecution of the Church makes the situation, if anything, even more difficult. Actually by the mode it lives modern society is carrying on a wholesale and insidious propaganda against Catholicism.

The ideals of modern society, as Emmanuel Mounier has pointed out so clearly in *Esprit*, are mostly subordinated to the money ideal. Public ethics are money ethics. Everything from the popular magazine to the movies idealizes the man who "gets on in life"; who "makes good." The ideal smart man is the man who gets on in a good "job," and who spends the greater part of his waking life bettering his "standard of living." The English Victorian expression, "poor but honest," when compared with the mediaeval idea of "a rich but a good man" shows the chasm which yawns between the ordinary man's idea of life nowadays, and the ordinary Catholic idea. The "job" is not seen as *work*, as part of the extension of the personality, but as a sale of eight hours of one's day for life, doing something one dislikes for the sake of the fictitious and un-Catholic conception of "success in the world."

We live so much within it, that we may not realize that the purely commercial outlook of modern life—especially in the English speaking countries—is not a universal law of life, but a very tragic exception in history. It would be hard to find a period in human history where the ideal of money was so shamelessly admitted (without even apologies) as the goal of human existence. Not only St. Thomas Aquinas and St. Theresa, but also Plato and Plotinus, thought that mere money-making was ignoble, and pretty well all the great religions of

history have taught the same, with the most obvious exception of several of the Puritan sects from the sixteenth century onwards.

The money and comfort ideal is not confined to capitalist society. It exists also with the Socialists and the Bolsheviks, and these various panaceas have thus far more in common with capitalism than Catholicism could ever have.

These facts create special difficulties for Catholics today, and as these difficulties are likely to grow in coming years, we ought to give them our very careful consideration now. We have to ask ourselves what a Catholic can do who finds that his daily "job" conflicts, even violently, with his Catholicism?

One of the commonest answers made is that a Catholic should pull his weight with modern society, without any great reservations, that he ought to make his daily "job" the God-given means of his salvation, and in addition ought to endeavor to rise to the top in the work he is doing.

This view was applied by Catholic thinkers to a Catholic society, but it seems to me a fundamentally dangerous one if it is applied without deep reservations to our own society. In practice we see that the daily job often makes a development of the true Catholic outlook on life very difficult, if not impossible. To say the very least, it would require (as Eric Gill says) the highest degree of heroic virtue to realize one's personality through a job in a modern department store.

Secondly, the more the Catholic view of life is developed, the more the ordinary "job" becomes irksome, so that in practice it is frequently impossible to rise at all in the firm that employs

you, without sacrificing your principles to a certain extent, if only to the extent of keeping your mouth shut. It is not possible for a Catholic to join with enthusiasm in the miserable race to "go to work to get the cash to buy the food to get the strength to go to work to earn the cash, etc. . . ."

An obvious result of what happens when an effort is made to work in with modern society uncritically, is what I should call "sectarianism." There are large numbers of Catholics, especially in non-Catholic societies, who divide their lives into two nearly watertight compartments. On Sunday they go to Mass, and pay reverence to religious and heroic ideals: but during the week they have an entirely different set of *practical* ideals, based on the newspapers and the cinema. The ideals of Catholicism are no longer thought of as applicable to life, still less to every moment of it. Sectarianism tends to think of the Church as a party rather than as life. It is perfectly understandable that religious ideals should really seem meaningless in last analysis to many people engaged in ordinary modern life, because if it were not meaningless it would involve revolutionary changes in daily life and revolutionary demands of society.

Now this sectarian separation is precisely what religion does not mean. Religion cannot be put in a secondary place, or even in an equal place, with other claims on man: it is either life itself, the inspiration and crown of every action, or else it is nothing. And hence religion demands of its very nature a *free* development of the personality and a social order which is the dead opposite of the restless and vulgar cycle of production and consumption

on which man is crucified. Against the appalling breakdown of ugliness and misery, the utter second-rateness of life in the great cities today, religion asserts man's needs of those attributes of God, the good, the true, and the beautiful.

But what is a given individual to do about it? We have to admit that there are large numbers of people today who are bound to be tied to our civilization as it is, because this bond is the only means of satisfying man's most elementary needs, of food and drink, warmth, and, above all, the creation of a home and a family. But beyond the providing of these elementary necessities, it seems to me that a peculiar asceticism may be required of Catholics today, during this most difficult period of history, and the need for this asceticism is by no means generally realized. Beyond a certain financial level—the level of reasonable subsistence—there are whole layers of society in which people have at least a limited choice concerning their avocation in life: and this choice can be made according to the spirit of Catholicism or according to the spirit of mere money-making which is inhuman as well as un-Catholic. With those who are free to choose, there lies an immense responsibility today. Catholicism absolutely rejects the idea of the "job" as I have described it above, and affirms instead the choice of a *vocation*, a decision concerning one's way of life made after one has considered one's final end and one's own particular abilities. This vocation may be that of priest or farmer or lawyer or artist or what not else—but it is an appalling blasphemy against Life if it is made with the primary object of enhancing one's

"standard of living" beyond a reasonable level, "making money," or entering into a vulgar competition with modern society as to who shall possess the richest house or finest automobile. Any deep religious sense, above all a Catholic religious sense, demands a certain indifference to the money values beyond the limited point of subsistence and the true expression of one's personality.

Hence, in one sense, I think we have to admit that *the effect of the spirit of Catholicism is to sabotage in some degree, the speed and competition of modern life and slow down its tempo: but this effect is not only truly Catholic, it is also truly human. It is a commonplace to say that a large mass of modern society is enchained to something of its own creation, and means and ends have become (maybe unconsciously) reversed. It seems to me that every individual who makes a right judgment according to principles, of his own individual way of life, and a right choice along Catholic lines, is also helping in some small degree to build what may ultimately be a Catholic and human society again, where means are subordinated to man's human needs, and to their ultimate guarantee, his final end. When society returns to Catholicism it will also be returning to a really human norm. It may be difficult to realize even what such a Catholic society might be like—what Maritain calls "a new Christendom"—and even difficult to realize that our irreligious commercialism is condemned by human history, and by every noble achievement of mankind. But we are encouraged to hope.*

Bishop Noll Speaks

From the Introduction to "It Is Happening Here"

Are some of us alarmists? Read, and decide for yourself.

If there were question only of counteracting the influence of the Communist Party as such we might confidently trust to the traditional sanity of the American people to keep our country "safe for Democracy."

But there is question of the wide encouragement now being given by influential organizations to the formation of a political "popular front."

There is question of the direction of all pacifist organizations, and of the millions of anti-war sympathizing people by agents of Moscow.

There is question of radical domination of many federated youth organizations.

There is question of many thousands of school teachers opposing any investigation of Communist propaganda through the schools on the theory that there must be no curtailment of "Academic Freedom."

There is question of the increased activity by radicals to incite labor to violence against industry.

There is question of a large part of the non-Catholic group being deceived by pro-Communist propaganda to the effect that the Catholic Church has created all her own present-day problems by her reactionary attitudes, and by her support of Fascism here and abroad.

There is question of successful appeals to the Intellegensia of the United

States effected by a considerable number of well-edited periodicals, and by an ever-increasing number of special writers in the American press. . . .

There is even question of some of the most influential Protestant Bishops and clergymen in America espousing the Communist cause and publicly commending its philosophy.

Nowhere in the world has Communism had so many powerful organizations furthering its cause—some wilfully, some unwittingly—as here. Hence Communism *can* happen here; we offer proof that it is happening here.

J. F. N.
Our Sunday Visitor Press
Huntington, Ind.

The Communist Attempts To Deceive Catholics

In pursuance of the instructions issued by Moscow to all Communist groups throughout the world, American Communists are holding out olive branches and coining honeyed phrases for gullible Catholics—if such exist. Fortunately the Knights of Columbus are well acquainted with the Communist tactics. And Archbishop McNicholas' recent pastoral is a detailed refutation of the gross hypocrisy of the Communist leaders in the subjoined letter received about the middle of February, it was undated.

COMMUNIST PARTY OF NEW HAVEN

District 15, Communist Party of U. S. A.

32 Center Street, Room 222

New Haven, Conn.

Paul C. Wicks, City Sec'y.

I. Wofsy, District Sec'y.

Knights of Columbus,
436 Orange St.,
New Haven, Conn.

Dear Friends:

We note with a great deal of interest an announcement in the local newspapers that your organization is conducting a nation-wide educational campaign and that your local council is planning a campaign in this vicinity.

The Communist Party has the greatest respect and friendship towards the believers of the Catholic faith, and we are extremely pleased by the prominent role that the Catholic people played in the recent elections in defeating the reactionary Liberty League-Hearst-Landon combination. We Communists are not sectarians or bigots. We strongly opposed such reactionary organizations as the Black Legion and the KuKlux Klan who attack Jews, Catholics, trade unionists and all progressive-minded people. We are believers and defenders of the American principle of religious freedom. The Communist Party welcomes into its ranks people of all nationalities, creed, and color.

We believe that the greatest danger confronting the Catholic people, and all people, is fascism. Hitler and his fascist regime in

Germany has vigorously attacked Catholics, Jews, and is now aiding General Franco in slaughtering the Catholic people of Spain, trying to deprive them of their right of self-government. We state frankly that the Communists and Catholics and all progressives have a common cause—the defense of democracy against fascism.

The subjects for discussion that you have announced are namely: "Communism" and "The Family." There are no more earnest defenders of the institution of the family than the Communists. We view with great alarm the break-up of the family in the present depression due to economic reasons. We firmly advocate that all progressives should unite today for adequate social security, for higher wages, and against the exploitation of the youth of this nation by the abolition of child labor.

The Communist Party of New Haven, while we hold certain beliefs in common, feels that there is some misunderstanding as to its aims and we therefore suggest that at your forthcoming meetings a representative of the Communist Party be invited to present our program for our mutual clarification.

Fraternally yours,

PAUL C. WICKS, City Sec'y.

Comment on the Communist Letter to K. of C.

The editors of *INFORMATIONES ET NOTITIAE* again urge all our readers to familiarize themselves with the Communist tactics revealed in the preceding letter addressed to the Knights of Co-

lumbus. Many religious leaders have been deceived by the alleged liberalism of Communists and have played straight into their hands. Fortunately, the number of Catholic dupes is small.

Read with care the warning against this device issued by a Protestant minister and reproduced on page 15 of this issue of *INFORMATIONES ET NOTITIAE*.

A Free Press-Bulwark Against Communism in America

By MOST REV. JOHN MARK GANNON, D.D.

Episcopal Chairman, Press Department, National Catholic Welfare Conference

A VERY great alarm has seized many leaders in America, notably churchmen and statesmen, regarding the impending evil of Communism.

Whether this alarm is fixed on solid facts and American realities or is due to over-reading on current events of some nations of Europe, is an open question. With some there must be a great impending evil. If there is not one, they will create one through the nerves of apprehension. With other people, there is a foolish phlegmatic indifference which never measures a rising evil or its rueful consequences until the deluge breaks loose and all is lost.

The President of the United States and the elected members of the Congress, whose American patriotism and religious affiliations are unquestioned, do not express any marked apprehension about the danger to the American form of government and our traditional Christian heritage in the face of the novelties of Communism. They claim the impending danger is found in the tyranny and dominance of an enormous artificial corporate power, legally created and protected by the very government itself, which to a degree has swept aside human rights and family life and has largely removed moral responsibility from the conscience of the American people. They think the great impending evil is distinctly American—is not European, but grew out from our democracy which created and endowed artificial persons, known as corporations, with too much power and protection, and pushed into the background the individual, moral and Christian responsibility of the American citizen. They propose to reverse this order, to make government humanitarian, to curb rapacity, to regulate strictly by law artificial creations of the state and to reestablish moral responsibility of the individual American citizen and family. Communism, they say, is only an im-

migrant beggar, lurking in America's backyard. When our great American democracy has trouble in adjusting its expanding forces of development, this foreign beggar becomes more importunate and threatening; when American democracy takes its usual stride of prosperity, progress and contentment, the strange rogue becomes the object of American pity and contempt.

MEANING OF COMMUNISM

Communism is a most commonly used word. What does it mean? We should know the meaning of the term before we can arrive at any intelligent conclusions about it. If Communism means, as many uninformed think, some improved justice for the common people of America, naturally many Americans are Communists. If Communism means the curbing of powerful corporations, the punishment of the dishonest wealthy, the improvement of the common man's lot, the last Presidential election leaves no doubt on the Communism of America. If Communism, however, means atheistic revolution against the American Government and American Churches, only a comparatively small number of Americans can be called Communists. Outside a few localized clusters of foreigners, and a few irresponsible professors in schools, atheistic Communism has little hold on Americans and does not promise to attract and satisfy American ideals and hopes. There is in American history none of the Czarist absolutism or monarchical tyranny out of which such extreme monsters as Communism are born. The democracy of the American people grew naturally from virgin soil and pioneer constructive labors, and it does not appear to be in the destiny of Americans to resolve themselves into the vagaries and cruelties of an imported Communism.

Communism is no solution of the labor question or of any other economic or political problem. It is a

philosophy of nihilism which destroys all traditional order, creates widespread chaos, and then establishes absolutism to rule through bullets and decrees instead of ballots and law. Wherever Communism raises its ugly head, crime, atrocities and bloodshed follow. The accumulated evidence of its gory record through Russia, China, Mexico and Spain—the only nations in which it has established authority—should be sufficient to make every red-blooded American an uncompromising enemy against even the effort to establish the theory of Communism within the boundaries of the United States.

Too frequently Americans are without the facts and history of this deplorable and cruel system of government. It therefore becomes the duty of the American press, secular and religious, to spread out the facts before the American people, to inform them of the dangers, the horrors, the rueful consequences of swerving, even in a slight degree, from the traditional constitution and government of the United States, to the snares and brutalities of Communistic usurpation.

ATTACK ON THE CHURCH

While we know that human society is always tormented by subversive forces and usually observes a spirit of calm faith and good-will in the face of these evils, the ferocity of the present-day attack on the Church in Europe demands that we do something more than exercise the passive virtues—we must attack. European Communism, which has seeped through into American soil, threatens a war against the American Government and against Christianity. We must organize, encourage and strengthen our Catholic press. The Catholic press, supported zealously in the Catholic pulpit, forms the most powerful weapon at the disposal of the Church.

It may be true that this age reacts to the noisy, the blatant, the spectac-

ular, the irreverent. They affect emotionally only the surface of society. Deep down beneath the surface we find the solid virtues and the permanent spiritual forces of civilization. The profound faith of mankind in its own divine destiny, still grips and governs the human heart and gives a strength to our civilization which no blatant nationalism, economic promises or futile theories of Communism can destroy. Our Catholic editors and authors must appeal to this fine American nature, stir up these spiritual and patriotic forces dormant in the souls of Americans, fan them into a raging flame of love for America, her benevolent traditions, her democratic institutions, her splendid Christian ideals and religious practices. Let a verdict on any great political or economic question be measured by the sound common sense of the American people. They may have many faults but they are known for sound practical sense in their political and economic life. They will, as a consequence, condemn Communism as unsound, impractical and un-American.

It is unthinkable that our supreme Christian Culture, built up by the artistic diligence and sacrificial faith of the millions across the centuries, is to be suddenly annihilated by the stealthy intrigue and terror of Communism. We have met Attila and the Huns—and survived. We have been challenged often, threatened and frightened, but we have never been conquered nor have we lost faith in the supreme destiny of the human race whose Redemption was purchased by the blood of Christ.

DUTY OF CATHOLIC PRESS

However, in this solemn hour, we men and women of the Catholic press, including our authors and publishers, have a great duty to perform in behalf of our nation and our Church. We recall the terrifying verse of Holy Writ in the despairing wail of Hosea: "My people are destroyed for lack of knowledge;" we dip our pen deeply into the ink of truth and write as clearly as the stars the story of man's redemption and the story of the founding of the American nation. We unfold page by page the inspiring events of 20 centuries of Church suffering and glory and, in our own era, the heroic sacrifices and imperishable words of those who founded and shaped America to its present admirable and matchless form. The Catholic press must furnish the people with that knowledge on social reconstruction which will keep them from being destroyed by Communism or any other impending evil. We must purify and strengthen human society with a knowledge of the Papal Encyclicals. We face an arduous duty and an indifferent age with unbounded

confidence that the truth, when clearly set forth, will prevail; that the errors and delusions which are leading so many adrift today will eventually lose their charm.

It was to these very ends that almost two decades ago the Bishops of the country, through the National Catholic Welfare Conference, set up and have since maintained the N. C. W. C. News Service as an aid to the Catholic press. Through this agency they have enabled Catholic journals to acquaint our people generally with the truth concerning Social Justice and Communism, as well as other outstanding movements and events, in a manner more adequate than the papers themselves could attain through their own resources alone. I think I can pledge the N. C. W. C. News Service to continue with ever more effectiveness to supply this enlightening truth for transmission to the readers of the Catholic press.

It was in a sense also toward these ends that 25 years ago Catholic journalists themselves formed the Catholic Press Association of the United States, and have since conducted it with increasing service to the Church. This Association, now observing its Silver Jubilee, has sought by various means and with considerable success to make the spread of Catholic truth more general, more attractive and more effective. It is now, through a special committee, promoting the annual Catholic Press Month. In this effort the agency of the Bishops, the N. C. W. C. Press Department, is cooperating. On behalf of the Bishops, I bespeak a wide discussion and consideration of the Catholic press as a powerful organ of the truth and a disseminator of useful information on problems that face the nation today.

DEFENSE OF TRUTH

If there ever was a duty specifically marked out in any age, it is the duty of the Catholic editor today, for it is his glory to expound and defend the truth. The source of all evil in our day is the corruption of the truth; in fact the evil of our century is the corruption of human thought. We have met in other ages the excesses of human passion, the corruption of human virtue, but at no time have we been so endangered by the poverty and bad quality of human thought that confronts us today.

In many circles, science, art, literature and some universities have conspired to blot out of the mind all divine supernatural light. The Catholic editor writes in the divine light of truth and is precisely the man who can penetrate the darkness and chaos of the present world and restore Christian order and faith. The Catholic editor

is willing, able and courageous. Will you, the Catholic people, and you, the great American public at large, give him the attention and support he deserves? Social injustice has become a scourge in the world. The Catholic Church does not assume to defend the injustice of our present social order, or to support entrenched interests in any attempt to suppress the rights of the common people. The reaction of many people to social injustice has taken the form of Communism, rebellion or some other attack against constituted order. Bloodshed and chaos have followed and reason has taken wings and fled. It is not primarily the Holy Church, not religion, not benevolent government, against which some people angrily protest; it is social injustice allowed to dominate too long without correction.

The Catholic editor, the Catholic author, the Catholic preacher, the Catholic publisher, can shed more light on this disordered world, can pour in more of the unction of Christ to heal the wounds of these bruised and angry groups of rebellious men, than any other class of leaders. The Holy Father has said: "The printed word is ruler of the world." Let us spread and disseminate that word through our Catholic press in the hope of enlightening the ignorant and of establishing on earth a reign of justice and charity. May God bless our Catholic editors!

COMMUNISM ISSUE IN SPAIN CIVIL WAR SAYS BISHOP ALTER

Right of People to Revolt Against Unjust Government Upheld by Prelate—Defends Record of Church in Country

By N.C.W.C. News Service.

TOLEDO, Jan. 18.—Communism, not democracy, is the issue in Spain, the Most Rev. Karl J. Alter, Bishop of Toledo, told the Cathedral Chapel Educational Club here. The Bishop answered "a few common questions" which are asked in connection with the present disturbances in Spain.

Going back to the abduction of King Alfonso to give a brief history of events leading up to the present situation, Bishop Alter said that Cabalero, extreme radical, has been the power behind the scene since the February election and is now in charge of the government. He charged that Rosenberg, the Soviet ambassador, sits in on sessions of the Spanish cabinet.

In answer to the question "What about revolution?" Bishop Alter said we learn in our catechism that we must respect and obey properly constituted authority, but that this means only au-

thority that is properly constituted, and does not mean that a government, once established, can do anything it desires, and that the people have no right of redress.

DEFENSE OF RIGHTS

When one's life, liberty, conscience, freedom are attacked, the Bishop said, one may defend himself. If the attack is against one's personal rights, one may sacrifice one's rights for a worthy purpose, if one so desires. The martyrs who sacrificed their personal rights are honored by the Church, the very Church that organized the Crusades to save civilization and Christian culture from Mohammedanism, he added.

Bishop Alter quoted from a writing on the ethics of revolution set down by Father Rickaby at the time of the Civil War in this country. Father Rickaby gave the conditions justifying a civil war as follows:

First, when the government has substituted tyranny for just, legal rule; second the badness of the government must be the opinion of not only a few, but of the great majority of persons of sound sense; third, revolution must be used only as a last resort, after all legal and peaceful means of settlement have failed; fourth there must be reasonable assurance that the revolution will be successful.

Answering such questions as "How can this happen in a Catholic Country?" "Was Spain really Catholic?" and "Were there many Protestants in Spain?" Bishop Alter said there were not many Protestants in Spain but this did not mean that Spain was Catholic. For the last 150 years, he said, Spain has not been a thoroughly Catholic nation. Since the French revolution there has been the element of revolution in Spain; the leading periodicals have been liberal and Jacobin, and his element has been growing in power.

Replying to the question "But did not the Catholic Church have great wealth in Spain?" Bishop Alter said it did not. In Spain, he declared, there were more than 10,000 educational and charitable institutions such as hospitals, asylums and orphanages, and their total endowment, the total productive capital of all of them together, was not as much as the total endowment of Harvard and Yale universities in this country. The rest of the "wealth" of the Church in Spain was in buildings, churches, schools, asylums and such, and these were liability—they had to be kept open; were not productive; were a source of constant expense.

STATISTICS ON RELIGIOUS

There were not too many religious in Spain as some people would claim, Bishop Alter also said. He declared that, according to the most recent

figures, there were 15,000 priests and 50,000 religious women in Spain, while in the United States there are more than 20,000 priests and 100,000 Sisters and there is need of more.

In answer to still another "common question," Bishop Alter said that the government did contribute toward the support of religious in Spain—after the government had confiscated all their property and deprived them of other means of incomes. Bishop Alter said that the government expected the highest official of the Church in Spain to meet all the expenses of a high official and a public dignitary, on a sum less than is appropriated in the United States to support the house of a Governor, not to mention his salary.

Bishop Alter took occasion in his address to urge greater support of the Catholic Press. Catholics in any nation without a strong Catholic Press are helpless, he said.

NATIONAL NOTRE DAME ALUMNI DRIVE AGAINST COMMUNISM IS OPENED

By N.C.W.C. News Service.

NOTRE DAME, Ind., Jan. 29.—Inaugurating a nation-wide educational campaign against various subversive activities which are attempting to undermine traditional Catholic and American ideals, a mass meeting of students, alumni, and residents of South Bend was held Monday night in the Gymnasium of the University of Notre Dame.

The keynote of the speakers was that Communism is in theory a deceitful philosophy attempting to mislead the masses, and in practice has been a harsh class dictatorship as ruthless as the worst Czarist regime it replaced in Russia.

Sponsored by the National Alumni Association of Notre Dame, the meeting coincided with similar gatherings in 85 cities throughout the United States.

Introduced by the Very Rev. John F. O'Hara, C.S.C., president of Notre Dame, who presided, Arthur J. Hughes, of Chicago, national alumni president, declared that Notre Dame men throughout the land were actively meeting the challenge of the "saturnally devastating" doctrines of Communism. He asserted:

"It is eminently fitting that we Notre Dame men, educated and trained in the religious and patriotic environment of our university should volunteer to put forth our united efforts to perpetuate the orderly processes of our government and preserve the foundations of the unsullied sources of true religion.

"To define Communism concisely is

a bit difficult, for, in political practice where it has been in operation, it has shifted so often and so violently that yesterday, today and tomorrow it may be three different things. It has been called by its protagonists the 'dictatorship of the proletariat—or of the masses.' And dictatorship it is, in spite of allegedly representative commissariats. What difference there is between dictatorship by a Czar and dictatorship by a Stalin should not be left for a future historian to discover, if the matter concern us now.

"Stalin, in fact, quotes with approval the words of Lenin: 'The scientific concept—dictatorship—means nothing more nor less than power which directly rests in violence, which is not limited by any law or by absolute rules. Dictatorship means unlimited power resting on violence and not law.' Such is the Communistic version of what their own 'dictatorship of the proletariat' means.

"Communism is admittedly applied materialism and asserts that man has no rights except such as are given him by organized society. Our own Declaration of Independence declares that man is endowed by his Creator with certain inalienable rights. Our Constitution protects and safeguards those rights. The Communist says there is no Creator, no natural right, no rule but violence.

"What does Communism give to youth? There are millions of homeless boys and girls in Russia today because the Soviet Government in its excesses broke up the home—socializing children, who were soon turned out in the street. It made seven million children homeless—and when the natural results began to show in viciousness, it placed children of 12 under the penal code, which includes capital punishment."

Mr. Hughes pointed out how Communism held no real hope for the future. He showed how the approach of Communism was highly psychological, falsely attractive and beguiling. And he urged that his listeners read well on Communism, including Communist publications, keeping in mind the difference between beguiling promises and what has actually happened.

Two student speakers attacked Communism from different view-points. Sebastian Bonet, whose home is in war-torn Spain, related how the Spanish people in general scoffed at the idea that Communism would ever get a real foothold in Spain up to the outbreak of the present war. James K. Nerney, of Attlesboro, Mass., student president of the Chesterton Society, urged that Communism will be repudiated only when the principles of

Christianity are invoked, and asked all fellow students to take an active part in "rechristianizing thought among the masses of the people."

Dr. Daniel O'Grady, Professor of Philosophy at Notre Dame, contended that the written doctrines promulgated by leading Communists here and abroad plainly advocated principles to which no thinking Christian or American could lend support.

"Doctrines such as Browder's," declared Dr. O'Grady, "supply the chief reasons why most honest minds have opposed Communism. Most thinking people opposed Prohibition because there is nothing intrinsically evil about alcohol even though a few people drink too much. Likewise, most thinking people now oppose Communism because there is nothing intrinsically wrong with private ownership of property, even though a few abuse this right."

"As Chesterton says, 'we favor pockets for everybody' while the Communists wish to do away with pockets entirely simply because there are some with empty pockets. Communism, indeed, is not like the sharing of early Christians who said 'What is mine, is thine.' Rather, modern Communism says 'What's thine, is mine.'"

"In ancient times the pagans were so impressed by Christian fraternity and charity that they exclaimed, 'See how these Christians love one another!' The modern observer, beholding Communists today, can hardly be impressed by the sincerity of the Marxist demand for equality when he sees Trotzky exiled in Mexico, although he was one of the very leaders of the Russian revolution; or when he sees Karl Radek and Nickolai Bukharin on trial for their lives in Moscow today, after serving the cause of the revolution for over two decades."

"It is just as though Alf Landon and Herbert Hoover were confined to Alcatraz, or deported to Canada, for disagreeing with Roosevelt's policies. I just cannot understand the Communistic meaning of equality."

PROTESTANT CLERGYMAN WARNS RELIGIOUS LEADERS COMMUNISM IS THEIR FOE

Extermination of All Church Groups Is Aim of Marxists, Presbyterian Pastor Says—Made Extended Visit to Russia

By N.C.W.C. News Service.

NEW YORK, Feb. 6.—Religious leaders of all denominations are warned against any alliance whatsoever

with Communists by the Rev. Dr. John Sutherland Bonnell, internationally-known Protestant minister, who, in recent statements here has declared that such cooperation would prove harmful to religion.

Dr. Bonnell is pastor of the Fifth Avenue Presbyterian Church. His observations on Communism's attitude towards religion are based on an extended visit he made to Soviet Russia in 1934 and on an intensive study he has made of Marxism. Because of his prominence, statements by him have attracted wide attention, particularly in Protestant quarters.

Taking cognizance of a movement among certain Protestant religious leaders to cooperate with and thereby win the goodwill of Communists, Dr. Bonnell has been outspoken in denouncing such a procedure. Communists by their philosophy itself, he warns, are pledged to exterminate religion in every nation in which they gain control.

RIDICULE OF CHRISTIANITY

"If the Communists gained power in this country," he adds, "they would immediately turn all our churches and religious institutions into anti-religious museums for the ridicule of Christianity."

"In this nation there are a group of people among its religious leaders and among some of its educators who believe that Communists are not seriously bent upon the extermination of religion," he says. "They believe that Christian churches and organizations ought freely to cooperate with them, and thereby win the good will of the Communists."

"I have listened to addresses in this country, and quite recently have read articles printed in responsible Christian journals, in which certain religious leaders who have visited Russia are now declaring that the reason why the Soviet Government is opposed to the Orthodox Church in Russia is because its teaching was based on superstition, and it was allied with the Czarist government and assisted in the exploitation of the masses."

"It would have been entirely different, these people are suggesting, if religion in Russia had been like the religion which they propose—philosophical, humanistic and essentially social in its emphasis. What the church in this country ought to do now, therefore, they say, is to cooperate with the

Communists against war and Fascism and other evils that are abroad in the world.

MISTAKEN JUDGMENT

"Not for one moment would I suggest that these speakers and writers are dishonest, but I am positively convinced that they are entirely mistaken in their judgment of Communism, whether in Russia or in this nation."

"I talked in Russia with representatives of the Soviet Government, with newspapermen and well-known writers, and the unanimous declaration of all these Russians is that Communism stands unalterably opposed to religion in any form."

Dr. Bonnell believes that if the social and economic aspects of Communism could be separated there might be some excuse for cooperation by Christian nations with the Soviets.

"But Communists are unalterably opposed to this separation," he says, "and are pledged to the utter extermination of religion in every nation in which they can gain a foothold. I can see little to be desired in any social program that is shot through with atheism such as Communism is."

Additional evidence that the Soviet Government is continuing unabated its relentless persecution of religion is given by Dr. Bonnell. The Soviets, he declares, have continued "unceasing warfare against every form of faith in God."

"Sometimes even intelligent observers of the Russian system are misled," he says. "Professor Sydney Webb suggests that he found no religious persecution in Russia. What are the facts?"

"Practically every theological seminary in the land has been closed by the government. Every prophetic voice in all religious bodies in Russia has been silenced. Almost every evangelical minister in the nation has been either banished or executed."

"The churches are prohibited from any form of public religious teaching, while anti-religious propaganda is fostered by the government. No Bibles or religious books may be printed by the government presses or imported into the country. In every town and city are anti-religious museums, generally established in dismantled churches. In every stage of education from kindergarten to university, atheism is taught by order of the government."

Archbishop Curley Tells Retreat Men Communism Perils

Prelate calls upon Catholics to inform selves of Church's social teachings as bulwark against modern subversive doctrines. Speaking with a deep knowledge of the subject, and quoting from its own literature to prove his points, the Most Rev. Michael J. Curley, Archbishop, warned against the evils and danger of Communism in a recent address and called upon Catholic men to inform themselves thoroughly on the social teachings of the Church and to fortify themselves with spiritual exercises.

ARCHBISHOP CURLEY was speaking at the eighth annual dinner in his honor sponsored by the Washington Section, League for Laymen's Retreats. Other speakers were Herbert R. O'Connor, Attorney General of the State of Maryland, and the Rev. Robert S. Lloyd, S.J., Director of Manresa-on-the-Severn, the retreat house for the laymen of the Archdiocese. The Most Rev. Peter L. Iretton, Coadjutor Bishop of Richmond, attended the dinner. The address was delivered on January 25.

Archbishop Curley lauded the lay retreat movement, calling it "one of the greatest forces for good in this Archdiocese." He called upon his priests to give it their greatest possible cooperation.

PLEA FOR FLOOD SUFFERERS

In closing his remarks, Archbishop Curley first appealed to the priests and Catholic laity of Washington generously to support the work of the Red Cross and other relief efforts among the flood sufferers of the West. All present then stood, and the Archbishop led them in the recitation of prayers for His Holiness Pope Pius XI, whom he called "one of the greatest Popes the Church has ever had."

Lauding the series of articles on Communism written by the Rt. Rev. Msgr. Fulton J. Sheen of the Catholic University of America, and now being printed in the Catholic Press, Archbishop Curley called upon Catholics to read these articles and to absorb their message.

Turning from the praise of the retreat movement, with which he began his remarks, Archbishop Curley said that "here in the Capital City, where the very heart of the nation throbs, we need a strengthening of our spiritual life, and not among Catholics alone, but, among Protestants and the Jewish people as well." Non-Catholic clergymen have come to a realization of this fact, he added, pointing out that "there is spreading throughout the land a fearful heresy directed against all religion.

The world has never before seen the like of this heresy, which denies the existence of the soul, of heaven, of hell, of hereafter, of everything spiritual, the Archbishop said. It isn't a philosophy of life, it is something of a practical nature—a system of ruling—he added.

READS RADICAL HANDBILL

Reading from a handbill circulated in Washington to announce a meeting in honor of Lenin last Sunday, Archbishop Curley answered its assertion one by one, referring time and again to official Communist literature to substantiate his own arguments.

"I might say as one not born in this country, but as one who freely became a citizen," Archbishop Curley declared, "that God never fashioned a fairer land than this Republic of ours."

Continuing, the Archbishop said our civilization is based upon Christian principles, that here we have more freedom than is enjoyed anywhere else in the world, but "today a splendidly organized propaganda is seeking to destroy the system under which we have lived successfully for a century and a half."

Telling the Manresa retreatants that "the Catholic Church is the only bulwark against this great menace," Archbishop Curley said:

"Don't fool yourselves—and don't let anybody else fool you—by saying 'just forget it; there's nothing to it.'"

Citing the tireless efforts of the Communist propagandists, Archbishop Curley asked: "If we Catholics had one-half of one per cent of their zeal and unrelenting work and did our work for Christ, what could we not do?"

DERIDES FASCISM CHARGE

Relating that the Communists, planning their work in Moscow, had adopted a slogan "if you are not a Communist you are a Fascist," and that apparently this has been taken up unconsciously by the press of the world, Archbishop Curley said:

"They would have me a Fascist here tonight because I am opposing Communism. I want to say with the greatest possible emphasis that I have no use for any dictatorship, and the Catholic Church has never given its approval to any form of dictatorship."

"Catholic men of Washington," the Archbishop said, "go to Manresa in greater numbers and come back more determined than ever to do your duty to your Church, your country, your home, your community and your fellow man, and to remain loyal to the principles of our great country, which was founded by men who believed in God."

COMMUNISM PERILS CITED IN SPEECH BY ARCHBISHOP CURLEY

Prelate, in Address to C.D.A. Converts' League, Refuses Reds' Claims of Friendship For Labor

Delivering his second public address in the National Capital in 24 hours, the Most Rev. Michael J. Curley, Archbishop of Baltimore, again struck out vigorously against Communism before the Converts' League of the Catholic Daughters of America here Tuesday evening. The night before the Archbishop had warned against the dangers of Communism at the eighth annual dinner in his honor sponsored by the Washington Section, League for Laymen's Retreats.

At the beginning of his address before the Converts' League meeting, which inaugurated a nation-wide crusade against Communism by the League, Archbishop Curley made clear his position with regard to the so-called "Red Rider," an amendment to District of Columbia legislation which outlaws the teaching of Communism in the public schools of this city. He said that the teaching of Communism as a true philosophy should be banned, but that he was convinced from personal experience that it is advisable to educate children to the fallacies and shortcomings of Communistic theories of government.

The Archbishop declared that the real Communist is not primarily interested in the welfare of the working people, but is more concerned with efforts to break down religion. Strikes, demonstrations, more strikes, armed demonstrations, and finally social revolution, is the Communist program, he said. Emphasizing his declaration that the Communist's real interest is not in the wages of the workers, Archbishop Curley said "if wages were increased 100-fold the Communist would continue spreading his godless philosophy."

The Archbishop also took occasion to re-emphasize a point he had made the night before; namely, that to say that everyone who is not a Communist is a Fascist is to play into the hands of the Communists, who have carefully planned propaganda for this purpose—this having been adopted as a slogan.



Part II

World Survey



The Common Front Against Communism in Various Countries

The following synopsis has been translated from "L'Ordre Nouveau" the excellent Bulletin of Information issued in French by R. P. Archambault, S.J., of Montreal, Canada. The survey stretches back several months and serves to supplement our previous notes published in the earlier number of "INFORMATIONES ET NOTITIAE." The date after each item designates the particular issue of "L'Ordre Nouveau."

Canada

OPPOSITION TO THE SPANISH DELEGATES (Nov. 20, 1936)

The delegates of the Spanish *Frente Popular* have not been able to fulfill their mission in Montreal. We have to thank the municipal authorities for this. These champions of hatred and revolution have absolutely no right to come here to stir up the social upheavals that are drenching Europe in blood. To make an appeal to freedom of speech, such as that made by the English newspapers is to justify the worst excesses. Fortunately we are possessed of another philosophy. "The name of liberty," writes Leo XIII, "cannot be applied to that which is companion to the shameful, wretched and unbridled propagation of errors, the free gratification of perverse greed, crimes and unpunished misdemeanors directed against the best citizens of every class."

When Pius XI condemns Communism he deplores the cooperation that it meets with among certain elements that rankle at order. The Montreal English Press is an example. The Mayor, Mr. Leo J. McKenna, in his address to the city has just made public utterance to this effect to the *Daily McGill*. The *Herald*, *Gazette* and the *Star* could have been the recipients of similar words of reproach. This strangely favorable attitude among the English-speaking organs has been the object of remarks of Fr. Bryan, S. J., in a stirring address given on the 25 October. The phenomenon is all the more astonishing when we consider that all the journals adhere to capitalism and high finance.

As a practical sequence to these resolutions (made by the Catholics of

Quebec on the Feast of Christ the King) we beg all associations and public organizations, as well as city councils to send to the Minister of Justice at Ottawa the following resolution:

We adhere to the Declarations made against Communism at the Montreal and Quebec manifestations on the 25 of last October and we demand that the Federal Government suppress the subversive conspiracies of Communism considered illegal by judgment of the highest court of Ontario.

Canada

AGAINST THE RED MENACE (Nov. 20, 1936)

Under a rain of telling blows, Communism has received an effective rebuff in the Province of Quebec.

The spiritual father of the Montreal Diocese, Msgr. Gauthier, has denounced outright its new tactics. One of the first to reveal the progress of Communistic propaganda and its dangers, His Excellency in 1930 gave the first cry of alarm. All remember his stirring harangues during his pastoral visitation from parish to parish followed by the letter that crowned them in January of 1931.

Once he had pointed out the danger Mgr. Gauthier suggested the remedy. He insisted particularly on the need of the social sense which too many Catholics lack. Had his advice been better followed would he today have to make the gloomy observations that his new letter contains? However, he returns to remedies and points out this time Catholic Action, our youth movements and the all powerful arm of prayer.

Several days later the new prime minister of the province had the opportunity to express his opinions on

the same subject. Some lady-delegates of the Popular Front had come to make their complaints to him. He answered them flatly, and according to his custom, with an almost brutal frankness: "Neither Socialism, nor Communism, nor Bolshevism will be tolerated in Quebec."

Last Tuesday M. Duplessis repeated this utterance to the Chamber: "It is the duty of all the governments, that Ottawa and of the other provinces as that of Quebec, to make the most forceful efforts to keep our province from becoming the theatre of abuses committed in other countries. We have religious traditions which we hold and we do not wish Communism and Bolshevism which are but the mere cloak of immorality, robbery and brigandage. Into the repression of abuses we will put all the energy and severity of a government that respects and wills the good of its province."

Switzerland (Nov. 20, 1936)

On the 21 and 22 of September the international Commission *Pro Deo* held its sixth annual convention at Geneva. Among other resolutions it made formal protest that the League of Nations tolerates among its members three governments which are aiming at the annihilation of Christianity. They have addressed themselves to Christian Statesmen, delegates to the League of Nations, reminding them that their status as Christians implies the duty of defending Christian civilization and the liberty of preaching the gospel. At a moment when thousands of believers are giving their lives for Christ, they can no longer remain indifferent; they must act.

In the course of a stirring sermon preached last September 28th at the Mass that marked the opening of the

assembly of the League of Nations, the Archbishop of Geneva, Mgr. Besson, said: "Free citizens of one of the oldest democracies of the world, it is beyond our comprehension that nothing has been done to stifle the furies who, in their obedience to commands from abroad, threatened to pitch us into a maelstrom of blood and fire."

On its part, the *Pro Deo* Commission whose headquarters are at Geneva has published this memorandum: "The document that we have found in *Antireligieux* revealing the secret agreement between Swiss atheists of various persuasions to labor against Christianity, at the very moment they sought to arouse sympathy among Christians, has shown the bad faith of the Communists as it has existed from the beginning. The public antireligious demonstrations recently organized by the French Communists, the repeated skirmishes whose victims have been the Lourdes pilgrims and especially the happening in Spain ought to open the eyes of the most naive and optimistic. Alas, such is not the case, as has been amply shown by the extraordinary attitude of certain delegates of Christian organizations to the *Congress des Jeunes pour la Paix* at Geneva and to the *Rassemblement pour la Paix* at Brussels. One finds there a state of spirit almost more dangerous than the action of the atheists themselves."

AGAINST COMMUNIST PLOTS IN SWITZERLAND (Dec. 5, 1936)

The Swiss Federal Counsel has taken administrative measures to repress Communist subversive activities.

All journals, writings, or any other propagandizing material of Communist, anarchistic, antimilitaristic or antireligious character imported into Switzerland will be confiscated. All political activity has been forbidden the organism called "Red Swiss Aid—division of international red cooperation." The manner of initiating red propaganda together with their tactics has been suppressed equally. The police authorities must forbid assemblies and Communist manifestations whenever such may be said to disturb public peace and to jeopardize the security of the country.

Belgium (Nov. 20, 1936)

SOCIALIST SYNDICALISTS REFUSE TO FORM A POPULAR FRONT WITH THE COMMUNISTS

Through the organ of its National Committee, the Syndicalist Commission of Belgium which constitutes the centre of all syndicates of the country

has just refused adherence to a proposed Popular Front.

With but one dissenting voice the National Council voted an order of the day which states that, in view of an absence of definite program and the refusal or non-existence in other countries of certain groups that have made a similar formation possible, the Popular Front in Belgium would be equivalent to setting up a front at one with the Communist Party and would be destined for a certain set-back.

The resolution adds that to set up any front with the Communists would, for the socialist syndical movement, constitute a "fundamental error."

Consequently the Federation and syndical divisions have been invited to refuse adherence to a Popular Front and to revoke this adherence where it has been declared.

Alsace-Lorraine (Nov. 20, 1936)

Here is the text of a notice posted in all the communes at the responsibility of the "Front de la Véritable Alsace":

"The Communist Party is attacking Alsace.

The propaganda campaign ordered by Moscow must begin next Sunday. Cachin, Thorez and their vassals have announced their arrival in our towns and villages.

The real Alsace without distinction of party or religious affiliation rises en masse against this provocation.

We desire order and peace here.

If the government and administration do not fulfill their duty and prohibit these activities, we will follow the example of those Parisians who last Sunday caused the red flag to be hauled down.

If Communist manifestations must take place, betake yourselves to those places that have been designated for such demonstrations.

Rise; for unity, peace and order; one united and free France."

And this one was posted simultaneously at Metz;

No, Mr. Thorez, neither you nor your followers will perform the base task that Moscow instructed you to carry out on the sixteenth of September last.

The men of Moisseville, despite German oppression, rallied under the one tri-colour.

The men of the Marne received unflinching, Joffre's order, "Be killed on the spot rather than yield."

The men of Verdun heard and carried out Pétain's order: "They shall not pass."

Those men are not all dead and they have sons.

No, Mr. Thorez, you shall not have Alsace and Lorraine and in spite of you we will remain Frenchmen!"

Holland (Nov. 20, 1936)

On the first Sunday in October a circular pastoral letter from the Dutch Episcopate was read in all the churches of the country. The Episcopate informs the Faithful that certain Catholic individuals have united to bring all the forces of Dutch Catholic life to bear on the organized battle against the various forms of modern Atheism. They have established a Commission entitled "Pro Deo."

With the consent of the Dutch Episcopate and the Bishop of Haarlem, the Commission's center is at the Grand Séminaire of Hageveld. The address of the Secretariate is: Dr. A. D. Diepenbrock, Post-box 2, Heemstede, Holland.

The pastoral letter notes in passing the Commission's activities during the last nine months for Catholic refugees in Holland: "All the Faithful have the Christian duty of coming to the aide—at least in extreme cases—of their brothers who have been persecuted because of their Faith and who have been hunted like beasts, obliged to wander abroad, deprived of all their goods."

Greece (Nov. 20, 1936)

News from Athens states that in order to render more effective the anti-Communist campaign, the government besides taking police measures has promulgated a law to combat subversive activities. This law provides heavy penalties for those who by writing, speaking or in any other way, direct or indirect, participate in spreading or applying ideas and theories that militate against the social order established in the country.

Communist literature is to be held and turned over to police authorities who will take steps toward the destruction of condemned literature.

These rigorous measures demand open approval for they are directed against an activity that threatens to strangle the national conscience and pervert the Greek character.

Ireland (Nov. 20, 1936)

The Irish government has officially condemned the atrocities committed in Spain. Several societies and public bodies have taken the same action. The Episcopate has also taken its stand against the barbarous practices. An organization has been formed under

the name of the "Christian Front" to combat Communism.

Subsequent to a convention held at Berlin with the authority of the Municipal Counsel wherein the speakers lauded the establishment of an Irish Soviet regime, the Christian Front has demanded that Communist societies be prohibited and their foreign directors be deported.

Paraguay (Nov. 20, 1936)

Colonel Rafael Franco, Provisional President, on the 6th of October signed a decree outlawing Communism in Paraguay. This ordinance imposes a sentence of from two to four years imprisonment for the distribution of Communist propaganda. Those found guilty may also be deported.

THE COMMUNIST PLAN TOWARD WAR

The Belgian organ *La Legion Nationale* publishes this plan drawn up by the Communist International:

1. Disorganization of western countries in the following order: Spain, France, Belgium.
2. Subsidies to Communist Parties in three countries.
3. Policy to be modified according to the social and national program and the fostering of alliances with Bourgeois democrats, middle classes and Christian workers.
4. Men and youths with a talent for haranguing and mass-leadership to be formed in the propaganda schools of the U. S. S. R.
5. Secret committees and factory committees to be set up to direct strikes that will put the economic set-up of each country into the hands of the Komintern.
6. To set up Popular Fronts maneuvered by Bolshevik agents and destined to facilitate the action of the masses under the impulse of Communist units.
7. To paralyze the interior economic and the external commercial life and so bring about a rise in prices, while the U. S. S. R. follows a policy of price lowering and super-production in order to effect a formidable Soviet dumping on the world market.
8. A general strike must take place to choke industry and cause misery among western workers in order to create an atmosphere favorable to revolution.
8. To start a European war in which Soviet Russia would take care not to participate. The Red armies—twenty millions of men—would step in only when the western

belligerents are weary, bled white, ruined, rocked by the ferment of internal revolt.

AGAINST WAR AND FASCISM

The league against war and Fascism is perhaps of all Communistic organizations the most carefully camouflaged to hood-wink those who have a horror of atheistic Communism.

Listen to the line of the propagandist:

"You're opposed to war, aren't you?"

The peace-loving Christian answers in the affirmative.

"And you detest Fascist dictatorship?"

The Christian who hates all dictatorship replies in the affirmative.

"All right," concludes the triumphant agitator, "You are ipso facto a member of the League against war and Communism."

Ah, but wait a minute. The Communist allows himself certain mental reservations and the knowing recruit-agent avoids explaining them.

Yes, he is opposed to war—international war, but he is not opposed to a civil war that will overturn in each country the established regime and substitute Communism for it.

He is opposed to Fascisti, Nazi, capitalist dictatorship.

But he is unconditionally in favor of the dictatorship of the proletariat, even if that dictatorship should be that of a Stalin or a Cardenas.

If the League were honest it would call itself: Communist League against War (except war as propaganda for Communism) and against dictatorship (except Communist dictatorship). We admit that this title would be a little cumbersome. It would at least be true.

Through these and other measures which it would take too long to enumerate here in detail, it is hoped that opportunists and professional politicians of whatever brand will be eliminated, inasmuch as the deputy's lot bears more burdens than beneficence.

The Red Offensive (Dec. 20, 1936)

FRESH OUTBREAK OF PROPAGANDA IN TACTICS OF "POPULAR FRONTS"

The Communist Press is multiplying its appeals in favor of "Popular Fronts." Dimitrov's long article in *Correspondence Internationale* brings out the true meaning of "Popular Fronts": "Instruments made to order for the promotion of one Communist International." We may cite the following passages:

"The policy of the Popular Front against Fascism and war proclaimed in the Seventh Congress of the Communist International has awakened a powerful echo among the working masses of the capitalist countries. The practical realization of this policy in France and in Spain has furnished the tangible proof of its concrete possibility . . . To outline briefly the basic tasks that the present situation places before the international proletariat, the following summary may be made:

"With all our forces to come to the aid of the Spanish people and oust the rebel fascists.

"Not to allow the discredit and rupture of the *Front Populaire* in France.

"To hasten by every means the establishment of a world Popular Front against fascism and war."

Responsibility for this policy (i. e. non-intervention in Spain), among the most odious from the point of view of world proletariat interests, is evidently incumbent upon the socialist chiefs that apply it . . . With the Communists they must be aware of their common historic duty to do everything to block the way for Fascism and maintain peace. This is why unity of action on the part of the proletariat itself, the only front of the working class acquires outstanding importance."

(*Correspondance Internationale*
Nov. 14, 1936)

PRO-SOVIET VIEWS OF VIENNA OFFICIAL BRING RETIREMENT

VIENNA, Nov. 23.—The resignation of Dr. Ernest Charles Winter, Vice-Burgomaster of Vienna, demand for whose retirement resulted from his recent declarations in favor of Bolshevism, marks the passing from public life of one who once was looked upon as a leader in the Austrian Catholic program of social justice.

Dr. Winter has been considered for a chair in the University of Vienna as a representative of the Catholic social sciences. The late Chancellor Dollfuss caused him to be elevated to the post of Vice-Burgomaster, believing Dr. Winter to be the person who might most help to win over to the Christian state those laborers who up to that time had been adherents of radical Socialism.

In recent months, however, Dr. Winter produced first astonishment, then uneasiness, and finally ever-growing indignation, because he had joined the small number of Catholic literati in various countries, who, unconvinced by the warnings and instructions of the

Holy See, make in Europe a passionate propaganda for an alliance of Catholicism and Bolshevism, contending that from such an alliance would come a successful defense of democracy. Dr. Winter has recently advocated the view that National Socialism was the deadly enemy, and that "in the struggle between National Socialism and Bolshevism, European Catholics must clearly side with Soviet Russia and against National Socialism."

In carrying out the mission entrusted to him by Chancellor Dollfuss, Dr. Winter committed a disastrous error. He apparently thought he could win the confidence of the laborers, of whom large numbers had already lost confidence in Socialism, by defending Marxism in his meetings and papers and by trying to adapt some sort of a radical Christian Socialism to the tastes of his audiences. The attempt was a complete failure and, on the contrary, produced confusion and doubts as to the aims of the Austrian reform of state and society. The Catholic Press pointed out the discrepancies between the clear teachings of the church and his statements.

It was sad to see him getting more and more entangled into ever greater errors by a misdirected idealism. Recently, he published a book, "Monarchy and the Laborers," in which he made this statement: "In the modern Vatican diplomatic matters long stifled the religious fire. There they did no longer resist the modern Caesar." And he further stated: "There is no universal danger of Bolshevism; this is an invention of the anti-Marxians."

RADICAL DOCTRINES DECLARED MENACING HUNGARIAN VILLAGES

Card. Seredi Warns Catholic Action Congress of Peril to Rural Popu- lation Due to Communist Propaganda

VIENNA, Oct. 19.—Socialistic propaganda is the enemy which is menacing the Hungarian village, His Eminence Justin Cardinal Seredi, Primate of Hungary, declared in an address at the concluding session of the twenty-seventh meeting of Hungarian Catholics in October:

"Hungary is an agricultural country and in other years the rural population has been a bulwark of social and moral order. But present conditions threaten the stability of that order.

"The enemy that menaces our villages, menaces all of our country, nay, all of mankind," Cardinal Seredi said. "Against the common danger all those who are well-meaning, and in particu-

lar all Catholics, must unite. The walls which separate the various groups in our country must be pulled down. Not only are religion, the fatherland and Christian culture at stake, but even human dignity and human life."

The Cardinal ended his address with tribute to the Holy See. In the course of the Congress a Eucharistic Procession was held in which more than 100,000 persons participated. A monument to Pope Innocent XI was unveiled in one of the principal squares of Budapest, in the presence of Cardinal Seredi, Admiral Horthy and other dignitaries of Church and State. It was this Pope who, 250 years ago, induced the Christian rulers to join in a campaign that liberated the Hungarian capital from the Turks.

Since Hungary will celebrate in 1938 the nine hundredth anniversary of the death of St. Stephen, to whom the nation is indebted for its Christianization, the annual congress will be postponed in 1937 so that all efforts may be devoted to preparing for the 1938 celebration.

REPORT VATICAN HAS SET UP "COMMISSIO PRO DEO" TO LEAD FIGHT ON COMMUNISM DENIED.

By N.C.W.C. News Service.

ROME, Jan. 18.—Widespread reports that the Vatican has set up a body known as *Commissio pro Deo* to engage the entire world in a combat against Communism are not correct, according to *Lettres de Rome*, published here.

As previously reported by the Vatican correspondent of the N. C. W. C. News Service, there is no doubt of the Vatican's vigorous opposition to Communism. The Holy See has wished always, and especially of late has found it imperative, to direct attention to the dangers of Communist propaganda. It desires that all may realize the seriousness of this menace and do what each one can, in his sphere, to meet Communist propaganda and to promote that social welfare which Communism promises in vain and which is possible only through Christian justice and charity.

But the *Commissio pro Deo*, however, meritorious it may be, is not directing the Catholic fight against Communism.

The report recently circulated in the press, *Lettres de Rome* states, was thought by some to have emanated from the Sacred Congregation of Ecclesiastical Affairs; but this is untrue and many persons have been misled by it. A commission headed by

Catholics, Protestants and Jews, it adds, could never be the directive organ of a movement emanating from the Holy See.

COMMON INTEREST

"This, however," *Lettres de Rome* comments, "does not signify that the works of this Commission should be underrated or subjected to criticism. In fact, it is known to have many Catholics among its collaborators, and very authoritative Catholic personages have not failed to approve the collective work of the Commission. The Holy Father, in his Encyclical *Caritate Christi* and on other occasions, has not appealed solely to Catholics to combat Bolshevism. It is his desire and his wish that we work together with all those who have faith in Jesus Christ for a cause that, without any doubt, is of common interest. Against such collaboration nothing is to be said.

"But to say that the *Commissio pro Deo* whatever its merits may be, should take over the direction of the Catholic movement against Bolshevism, is far from true. It goes without saying that the Catholic Church alone can be the organ of a Catholic movement organized by the Holy See. It is evident that the Holy See never directs an action which is not entirely under its direct or indirect control."

The Holy See has led with surprising energy the struggle against Bolshevism and all the subversive forces of our times, the article continues, and its religious and civilizing mission demands this of the Papacy and gives to this struggle its particular character; but if it is to be victorious, "it must be separated clearly from all display of political or economic forces."

SOCIAL PROGRAM

The working class, *Lettres de Rome* points out, will be won over "only if they know that we are struggling before all for their souls and for their eternal salvation, and if they know that we are doing all that is humanly possible to assure them a just wage and a truly human existence, and if they see that the Catholic social program is proposed integrally."

Results in this struggle will be obtained only through the use of all men's energy, the article states, and "in the Catholic Church we have forces which cannot be found elsewhere. We cannot renounce these forces out of regard for other convictions no matter how much we respect them.

In concluding, *Lettres de Rome* affirms: "In these lines no attack is made against the *Commissio pro Deo*. We only wish to put an end to rumors

that have already begun to hurl disorder into our ranks. The Catholic movement against Bolshevism has its

own direction, its principles, its men and its banner. Otherwise, Catholics are ready to join with all those who,

in order to defend religion and civilization, are struggling against the destructive forces of Bolshevism."

Return from the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics

The following account, from the pen of Mr. Frank Fadner, S.J., of Woodstock College, summarizes an important development in French literary circles. It adds one more confirmation to the long list of the disillusioned.

"WHAT has been written with the pen, you won't hack out with an axe," runs a Russian saying. In October, 1935, one who in the minds of many is the most powerful figure in French letters today, made a pledge to Russia:

"It is precisely the stupid dishonesty of the attackers of the U. S. S. R. which causes us obstinately to set our shoulders to her defense. The snarling carpers themselves are just beginning to evince their approval at the very moment when we cease to voice ours. What they applaud will be those departures which are bound to make others say, 'Ah; I told you so!'—those compromises whereby Russia will veer from the course set for the end she at first pursued. Our gaze is firmly fixed upon that end; may it not be shifted in such a contingency and made to turn away from the U. S. S. R."

André Gide is one of those who have sought. For years those piercing eyes from under the brim of the soft black hat he affects have peered through the drizzle of ill health and long periods of failure and discouragement in his search for the Utopian asylum so often the aggravating objective of poetic *wanderlust*. He wearied at the feet of Mallarmé and the symbolist; the wild realities of Africa did not satisfy him, Parisian salons stifled him. He turned to Soviet Russia—he has come back, "*un autre désenchanté*."

His book, *Retour de l'U. R. S. S.* which he wrote in 1936 makes his position clear. His love for Russia, inasmuch as Soviet Russia stands for an ideal, is still ardent. He deplores the fact that Russia, inasmuch as it is the citadel of Stalin, has swerved from that ideal. His written profession of two years ago with its implications still stands. One must not be so naïve as to believe that the recent excursion into Red Russia has resulted in the apostacy of an important French literary man of leftish tendencies; although indeed his faith may have been shaken. "Well do I know the apparent advantage unfriendly parties—those for whom the love of order is confused with the whim of tyrants—will pretend to draw from my book," says Gide. His observations wherein he complains that Stalin's Russia is not

orthodox enough has elicited the official removal of Gide's name from its enviable position on Bolshevik records as "*Vicrny Drug S. S. S. R.*" (True Friend of U. S. S. R.); and the heroic exiles still fighting for old-line Communism doubtless have another confrère.

Retour de l'U. R. S. S. is a useful document and a frank exposé of Russia under the dictatorship of Joseph Stalin. Our author's eyes were first dimmed, then dazzled in the Red Square at Moscow. He saw the people of Russia, much like those of the days of the Tsars, old men, old women, children, many of them ragged—file on file—pass in sad stolidity before the remains of Gorky, friend and comrade. It was a mute, dull wash of neutral grey and brown. His second picture was one in brighter tones; the youth festival in the Red Square—youth of Georgia, Kalkhetia, Abkhasia, the Ukraine, Leningrad and the Crimea—perfectly trained, prepared and *chosen* in magnificent, pulsating procession. These two scenes are symbols of what he saw in Russia. Small wonder that as he reminisces over his Russian days he says "*en U. R. S. S. j'avis eu (moralement) si chaud, et si froid.*"

The pilgrim was captivated by the nowhere-to-be-equalled "spirit of human brotherhood" and *bonne camaraderie* he met in Russia, the fabric of which is often woven from no more than a glance from understanding eyes in a crowd! "*How long youth lasts here!*" he exclaims, and reads into the visage of the Russian young a perennially unsophisticated "*astomishment in the face of life.*" And patience is a prime characteristic of your Russian, young and old. He is more than resigned; he seems to take pleasure in waiting and makes you wait with pleasure—this, after seeing the same huge crowd, women with their babies and all, standing for hours in a store, waiting to be served from a shipment of merchandise whose arrival had just been announced. And the quality of that merchandise? Why should it be extraordinarily *du goût*? The Government is in the merchandising line and knows no rivals! Our observer feels the pulse of the crowd at Moscow and finds it feeble. Stakhanovism, the

glorified efficiency craze that has swept the Union, he calls a marvellous invention for overcoming the national indolence. (It would have been the knout in old days). It would be useless in a land where all the workers worked.

The visiting Frenchman was impressed by his inspection of Sukhum, the prosperous "millionair" kolkhos (collective farm-community. "*Complete depersonalisation*" is the phrase he coins to express the mode of life. In each dwelling he found the same ugly furniture, the same portrait of Stalin, and nothing else; not even the slightest personal belonging. The Kolkhosian's room is nought but a place to sleep in; all his social interests find their expression in the club and the culture-park. The happiness of the whole is obtained only by the deindividualization of each one. Conformity is the *sine qua non* of happiness.

Conformity naturally is the string on which an individualistic litterateur will harp; but more of this later. He marvels at the new national psychology of the Russian people that has been so moulded that conformity is easy, natural and unconscious to such a degree that hypocrisy is out of the question. Every morning *Pravda* teaches its readers what is to be known, thought and believed. And it pays to keep within bounds. All receive the same; all are content. The unhappiness of the foreign bourgeois worker is played up by the press and is attributed to the system of inequality in which he labors. Hence the Russian worker considers himself happier than his foreign brother. His happiness is born of hope, trust and ignorance.

The man of letters was astounded by the modern Russian's apparent leaning toward culture, but upon closer inspection he saw that what passes there for culture is far from what he visualizes under that name. Here it must be acknowledged that Gide must needs declare himself *désenchanté* in regard to Communism itself as a working scheme, for he objects to what are the logical outcome of its postulates. Marxian esteem for the critical spirit has been perverted. All education concentrates itself upon the creation of a faith in the present

happy state of affairs. "Oh, U. S. S. R. . . . Ave, spes unica!" must be on the lips of all. The sole criterion on which rests Stalinite critique is "the line." Russians ask, "Is this gesture, this work, this theory in conformity with the holy and inviolable line?" Woe betide him who would push his criticism beyond that line and begin to question the very tenets of the Stalinite Credo. Gide wonders how the true artist and writer can live and create in a land where he must prostitute his art for the sake of conformity and where he cannot stimulate himself with the spirit of opposition of which great works are so often born.

A remarkable smugness, certainly not tinged with the international spirit, has taken root in the Russian mentality as a result of this. "Yes, up until a few years ago Germany and the United States could teach us something on some points. But now we have nothing to learn from foreigners. Why, then, learn to speak their languages?" queries a young student. "Do you have subways in Paris, or only street cars and buses?" workers ask the traveler. "Do they still beat the children in the schools? What a pity the workers in France are so wretched; but of course, they've not yet fought the Revolution!" Gide throws up his hands in despair at the Russian's lack of information concerning the outer non-Russian night. "Prava teaches us enough of everything," brusquely replies the Stalinite, and ex ore infantium comes the formula, "You would not find enough paper in the wide world on which to write all the splendid, great new things that are being done in U. S. S. R."

To show how the Party-run *Pravda* directs all public opinion Gide cites an instance. He attended a banquet at Sukhum. During the toasts his companion, Jef Last, proposed that a glass be emptied for the triumph of the Red Front in Spain. There was applause, but a note of restraint was obvious. There was a toast to Stalin. Gide toasted the political prisoners of fascist Germany, Yugoslavia, Hungary, amid sincere enthusiasm. Another toast was drunk to Stalin. It was not until several days later that Gide at Sebastopol met the great wave of sympathy for the Spanish Reds that was finally surging from the Kremlin. The Red Rome had spoken through its official mouth-piece, and the people knew what stand to take.

André Gide voices his alarm at the inequality of salaries in U. S. S. R. and fears the rise of a satisfied workmen's bourgeoisie. The natural bourgeois tendencies in the hearts of men are being pandered to, he laments, and cites as instances the restoration of the

family inheritance, private property, and other concessions. He sees the presence of a *petite bourgeoisie* evidenced by the self-satisfied attitude of those who conform, speaking as they do with mépris of domestics as "inferiors," of "day" men and women, and—most despicable of all bourgeois terminology—the "poor." "There are too many of these last," cries Gide, "too many, I had hoped not to see them; it was precisely with the hope of not seeing them that I went to U. S. S. R." And, strange paradox, this spirit is not called "counter-revolutionary" as it would have been in earlier, more orthodox days. The early ideals are like a scaffolding used in putting up a structure; when it is completed the useless lumber is removed. Counter-Revolutionists now are those who would try to turn the people back to Lenin's ideals. Only your conformist is *persona grata* today in U. S. S. R. This is nought but the all too familiar nationalism—pure and simple—fostered by such clichés as the "Soviet Fatherland," a term unknown in earlier days.

The Frenchman notes the disappearance of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat and the rise of Stalin and the outright cult of that person that has sprung up. "Stalin's face is met everywhere; his name is on all lips, his praise finds place in every discourse. Especially in Georgia, I never entered a dwelling, be it ever so humble, without seeing on the wall a portrait of Stalin, doubtless occupying the space formerly reserved for the icon. Adoration, love or fear, I know not; but always and everywhere, there he is."

In his last pages André Gide strikes a fundamental note when he speaks of Religion. He met a pope (Russian priest) on the road to Peterhof, "monstruous, abject and ridiculous" whose repelling appearance "spoke more eloquently than all the anti-religious museums in U. S. S. R." On the other hand he cannot forget the admirable face of the religious, guardian of a beautiful church he visited at X. "What dignity in his carriage! What nobility in his features! What sad and resigned 'fierté'! Not a word, not a sign from him to us, not an exchange of glances. And whilst I looked at him as he was unaware I dreamed of the 'Tradebat autem' of the Gospel." Non-committed Gide suspects that Russia has not been clever in her conduct of the war against Religion. Holding no brief for the Faith in itself, indeed admitting that from a purely utilitarian point of view he would hold the same argument for the preservation of Greek myths, Gide states that the ignorance and denial of the Gospel cannot help but impoverish humanity and culture. He fears, with

a homely and somewhat irreverent analogy to be sure, that in their haste the Powers in Russia have "thrown out the baby with the water." Dirty that water may have been, he continues, but he fears that now, even if through lenience some bells do ring again, the tub may again be found brimming with dirty water (may we interpolate, with the none too cleansing waters of a religion of the state?)—and the child gone.

Thus has an observer tried to make his position clear and frankly spoken. In his own words he trusts that "*La vérité ne puet blesser que pour guérir.*"

SOVIET "PURGE" JAILS TROTSKYISTS; VAST PARTY ACTION COVERS NATION

Hundreds of Former Communist Leaders Are Seized Following Confessions in Recent Trial—"Cleansing" Is Most Thorough Since That of 1917—Russian Masses Demand Action.

New York Times, Feb. 7, 1937.

By The Associated Press.

MOSCOW, Feb. 6.—Reports from all parts of Soviet Russia told today of the greatest communist party purge since 1927.

Following Trotskyists conspiracy confessions and convictions, the party rolls are being purified of hundreds of names, the advices indicated. It is the most thorough "cleansing" since Leon Trotsky, and hundreds of his followers were read out of the party 10 years ago.

Already arrested and charged with taking part in the so-called "Trotskyist wrecking conspiracy," hundreds of influential Soviet citizens are said to be among the victims of the purge.

Close on the heels of the trial and conviction of 17 confessed plotters, including the noted Soviet journalist, Karl Radek, came demands from party ranks that others implicated in trial testimony be brought swiftly to trial, and the party be purged of "Rightist" elements.

Alexander Georgivich Belaborodoff, reputed executioner of the Czar and his family; Nicolai Bukharin, former editor of the government newspaper *Izvestia*, and Alexis Rykoff, former Soviet Premier, are among the once-powerful Russians expected to be tried.

Workers in Southern Russia have demanded the death penalty for Belaborodoff, former President of the Orenburg Soviet, said by some to have been one of the four who shot the Czar and his family July 16, 1918, in an Ekaterinburg cellar.

Belaborodoff was arrested at Rostoff-on-Don recently. During the trial

of the 17 alleged Trotskyists in Moscow he was named by M. S. Boguslavsky, a defendant, as a participant in a plot to overthrow the Soviet Government in Busk, Siberia, in 1928.

Other leaders were arrested with Belaborodoff at Rostoff-on-Don, where workers in the Rosa Luxemburg tobacco factory charged the prisoners with sabotage in a great agricultural plant, on railways and in coal mines in the Black Sea area.

More than 20,000 workers were thrown out of employment when the plant, producing most of the grain-harvesting combines used on the Soviet collective farms, encountered production difficulties. Mass meetings were held in many sections to discuss the conspiracy revelations.

CATHOLIC JOURNALISTS MOBILIZING FORCES TO COUNTERACT RADICALS

By DR. FREDERIC FUNDER

(Vienna Correspondent, N. C. W. C. News Service).

VIENNA, Feb. 1.—Unanimous expression was given to the view that all forces disposable must be mobilized to counteract the danger of Communism, when the Committee of Twelve set up by the International Congress of Catholic Journalists met at St. Paul's Printing Office in Luxembourg. The committee was named at the convention held in Rome in September.

This concentration of effort, it was emphasized, is necessary also to bring about the correction of pernicious errors, and achievement expressed in the wish of the Holy Father at the time of the convention. The committee decided to meet in June at Budapest and again in the autumn probably at Warsaw.

Abbe Merklen, of *La Croix*, Paris, presided over the session, at which one of the leaders of the discussion was Monsignor Bouquin, of Fides Service, Rome.

In several countries, it was stated, it has been possible to combine hitherto existing Catholic news agencies into a national organization and to conclude with the KIPA agency a cooperation agreement.

MANILA ARCHBISHOP SCORES COMMUNISM AS SLAVERY DANGER

**In "Philippine Yearbook" Prelate
Calls Eucharist Congress Check
on "Red" Incursion on the
Church**

By N. C. W. C. News Service

MANILA, Philippine Islands, Jan. 29.—An attack on Communism and how the Thirty-third International

Eucharistic Congress can effectively check the incursions on the Church by Communism, is told by the Most Rev. Michael J. O'Doherty, Archbishop of Manila, in an article contributed to the "Philippine Yearbook," which has just made its appearance here.

Archbishop O'Doherty's article follows:

"It is providential that the Philippines should be dedicating the first year of the Commonwealth to a spiritual preparation for the Thirty-third International Eucharistic Congress. The political philosophy of the young state is being guided along sane, sober, conservative lines and not headed for violent changes and social upheavals: temptations under which many young states have succumbed in the past.

"Naturally, here, the spiritual, social and political outlook of the country must be influenced by the majority of its citizens, and hence where Catholics constitute from 90 to 95 per cent of the population we need not expect anything but a preponderantly Catholic atmosphere. Some foreigners who come to the Islands are quite surprised at the large number of Catholics they meet here, but after a while they find it is not a bad atmosphere to live in, and not a few elect even to join the religion of the Filipinos.

RECEIVED SYMPATHETICALLY

"Be that as it may, the fact is that today the holding of the Eucharistic Congress in Manila . . . is received by the vast majority of our citizens in a most sympathetic fashion, and promises to be a resounding success.

"For the first time in history, the Far East will be the scene of a great religious celebration in which the whole Catholic world will participate. And the Philippines itself will have the major part—that of the host who welcomes pilgrims from all the countries of the globe to kneel with her, on her own hearth, in profession of their common faith and in adoration of the Lord of all. The people of the Philippines are a renowned Catholic people. Alone among the nations of the Far East, they have that honor and responsibility. There are Catholics, loyal, self-sacrificing and ever-increasing, in the other Oriental countries, but China, Japan, India, Indo-China and Malaysia are pagan lands. The Eucharistic Congress will be at home in the Philippines and from the palm-fringed shores of the Pearl of the Orient it will cast its light upon nearby regions that contain the greatest assembly of non-Christians in the world.

"Everything that is done to make the Thirty-third International Eucharistic Congress a success is a deed done for

the spread of Catholic culture in the entire Orient. Every prayer said, every sacrifice made, every additional pilgrim is a new radiance to make Our Lord in the Blessed Eucharist more apparent and more attractive to Eastern Asia. Seldom if ever, in the history of International Congresses has the participation of the individual Catholic carried with it such missionary possibilities, such power for influencing his fellowmen, as it will carry in Manila.

"A Eucharistic Congress is an affirmation of orthodox Christianity, a great public act of Faith in the Divinity and Humanity of Jesus Christ, True God, True Man, in Whose Name alone we may be happy and contented in this world, and attain endless bliss in Heaven.

PEACE PREVAILED

"Wherever the teachings of Our Lord Jesus Christ have been believed and wherever His Commandment has been obeyed—'Love God above all things: Love your neighbor as yourself,' peace, happiness and prosperity have prevailed. And chaos, injustice and suffering entered into those countries only when the spiritual life was first weakened and false principles of social justice were allowed to creep in unmolested.

"The perilous condition of Europe at the present time is due chiefly to the neglect of spiritual values in the conduct of human affairs. Neither a people in general nor its government in particular, can ignore the principles of Christianity, without coming to grief, for the teachings of Christ are the principles of justice. These principles have been formulated by Infinite Wisdom and promulgated to secure peace, felicity and good government of the people, and such a condition of things can be obtained only where the majority of the community cooperates in the observance of the Divine Commands. Of course, all of us realize that the universal obedience to the law, whether human or divine, is an ideal that we shall never attain, but the only sane policy is to continue trying and keep the ideal and the Law before the nation's mind.

"In Russia the revolutionists cried out 'Christianity has failed and therefore let us suppress religion!' This is the cry of the Communists all over the world. Christianity can never fail, because it is divine—it is the individuals who fail in the observance of the principles of Christianity, and then the social fabric goes down little by little and finally crashes, because 'the wages of sin is death.'

"The Eucharistic Congress is a link in the modern chain of Christian en-

deavor to place the teachings of God before the people so that they may know the way of true happiness and not be deceived by Communists with their wild promises of universal destruction. The happiness offered by Communism to the working millions is quite impossible of realization. The promises made are altogether false and this can be proved both 'a priori' from reason, and also by experience. The hope that all the people of the world could be equally rich and comfortable is impossible of fulfillment. There is only a limited amount of material things in the universe and even though it were possible to divide all money and property evenly among all the people of the world, the result would be universal poverty, and in times of stress there would be no wealthy and generous patrons to whom the poor could appeal for succor.

NO INCENTIVE TO WORK

"Furthermore, there would be no incentive to hard work, as the hard working father of a family could not save the product of his labor for the future of his household. All the product of labor would distribute the surplus, or not, according to the whim of the moment.

"Communitic philosophy is the negation of all individual freedom. And yet there must be some reason at the bottom of it, when millions of men throw themselves almost blindly into the arms of Communism without counting the cost.

"The reason is that a good deal of injustice does exist in the relations between man and man. Many employers do not look upon their employes as so many brothers, but rather as instruments for the increase of their fortunes. Laborers have a right to a just retribution for their work, and in plain English, every laborer has a right to a living wage, not merely for himself but also for his family.

"Such a doctrine runs counter to the liberal cry that 'all this property belongs to me, and I can do what I like with it.' This is not true. It may be legal before the laws of the Commonwealth, but in the eyes of Divine Justice, wealth is a talent given to us, according to the plans of Divine Providence, and this talent we are expected to use following the indications of a heart filled with love for God and for our fellowmen.

"This is the answer to the objections of the Communists when they ask 'What are you going to do to relieve the suffering of the poor?' There are sufficient material goods in the world

for all men to live in frugal comfort, but the accumulation of great riches in hands that do not recognize the obligations of charity, benevolence and fraternal love causes scarcity and hunger in the masses. Money was intended to be used and not to be hoarded. Charity, of course, begins at home, and every man's first obligation is to attend to the actual needs of his family and prepare a reasonable competence for the future. But the obligations of generosity, benevolence and charity toward his neighbor can never be put out of sight. So much, therefore, for the evils of Communism and the Christian remedies for them.

'A POSTERIORI' ARGUMENT

"The 'a posteriori' arguments against Communism may well be confined to Russia. Such an argument is gathered from experience. Russia is the only country so far where Communism has been implanted as a governmental system. If Communism could bring happiness in any land it should have been successful in the former country of the Czar. It has the whole power of the government behind it, and this power was used ruthlessly and with unheard of cruelty to clear away all obstacles from the path of Communism.

"It is certain that at least 5,000,000 Russians were put to death because they dared to use liberty of speech in condemning a system of government, which they believed was doomed to failure. So liberty of speech died in Russia—and millions of the people were condemned to the inhuman prison in Siberia chiefly because they tried to practice their religion. And so died liberty of worship in Russia. And step by step all human liberty disappeared, and the poor Russians who were promised happiness and comfort by Communism found themselves deprived of all things, even their children they became a horde of miserable slaves sold to their own Soviet Chiefs.

"The best antidote to the spread of Communism is found in the ideals of the Eucharistic Congress, calling on all men to believe in the kind of Providence and Fatherly care of God, Who is always with us in the Sacrament of the Altar. He Himself reduced all His teachings to the fundamental principles of Christianity—namely: 'Thou shalt love the Lord Thy God with thy whole heart, and thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself.'

"This is the only way to procure among all men, 'Glory to God in the Highest, and on earth peace to men of good will.'"

PLAN OF FRENCH REDS TO "ESCORT" CATHOLICS TO RUSSIA IS EXPOSED

By M. MASSIANI

(Paris Correspondent, N. C. W. C. News Service)

PARIS, Feb. 8.—At a national convention of the French Communist Party, just held at Paris, a woman delegate from the Nord announced that the Soviets, to offset the effect produced by a letter from His Eminence Achille Cardinal Lienart, Bishop of Lille, intend to organize a trip to Russia for "a certain number of Catholic working men and women."

This maneuver should not fool anyone. The first thought that strikes the mind is that the Bolsheviks will invite some of their own number who will pass themselves off as Catholics. It is a comedy that one has frequent opportunity to witness these days. The walls of French towns are covered with statements signed by alleged Catholics—French or Spanish—in praise of the Popular Front. It so happens that these persons are either totally unknown or are comparatively obscure Spaniards who have been repudiated by Catholics.

RECEPTIONS AND BANQUETS

Five delegates of the Federation of Miners, in the Nord, present an outstanding example of these "escorted" tours. They made a journey to Russia recently. Upon their return, four of them have gotten into a controversy with the fifth, a Communist Deputy. The former have stated that the condition of the miners is worse in Russia than in France. The Communist Deputy denied this. In replying the four stated: "On the fifth day of your visit you sent to Paris an article of enthusiastic description; but, from the time of our arrival, all we did was go from receptions to banquets. We saw nothing else."

The great writer Roland Dorgeles, author of the most famous French book on the war, *Les Croix de Bois* (Wooden Crosses) decided to see for himself what life in Russia would be like. He spent some months there and, so far as he was able to, got rid of the police and guides. He questioned the last of the French left at Moscow and Leningrad. His revelations are all the more worthy of notice because when he left France he was without hostile prejudice toward the Soviets.

Here is what he says in *L'Intransigeant* on religious liberty:

"At the same time this summer when the New Constitution appeared promising among other illusions, liberty of worship, the only Russian Catholic

Bishop, the Most Rev. Alexander Trison, was again thrown into prison. So as to throw foreign Christians on the wrong scent, one does accord to the clergy the right to make communicants of children, but it is forbidden, under pain of imprisonment, to teach them catechism. The procedure is always the same: smiles without, grimaces within.

UNDER SURVEILLANCE

"To fool tourists, icons are put in various places, but anti-religious instruction is given officially in the schools and the clergy, registered by the G. P. U., are obliged to declare the names of the unfortunate ones who are married with a religious ceremony, or whose children are baptized, so that they may be kept under surveillance and arrested at the first opportunity.

"Religious liberty? What a farce! On the eve of the revolution there were 445 Catholic priests in the Archdiocese of Mohilew. Today there are two. One is French; they cannot touch him. But the other, a naturalized Pole, has just come out of prison after an eight-year term. This is respect for the Faith."

In the remainder of his article Dorgeles affirms and demonstrates that all liberties are treated in the same fashion.

COMMUNISTS' PARODY OF MASS IS PROTESTED BY PRELATE IN FRANCE

By M. MASSIANI

(Paris Correspondent, N. C. W. C. News Service)

PARIS, Jan. 18.—The Most Rev. Benjamin Rold-Gasselin, Bishop of Versailles, has addressed a protest to the prefect against an odious demonstration staged by Communists on Christmas Eve in the town hall of Velizy. During the course of a ball, they parodied the Mass with a celebrant dressed in priestly vestments and boys and girls dressed as altar boys.

"I have the honor," wrote the Bishop, "in the name of the clergy and faithful of the Diocese of Versailles, their piety sensibly wounded, to call your attention to this unqualifiable abuse and to ask you to take steps to prevent its repetition."

On many occasions of late the Communists, with resounding discourses and posters displayed in towns and cities, affirmed that they are extending the hand to Catholic workers. Such incidents as that at Velizy show the insincerity of their attitude. Furthermore, *Humanite*, their official organ, is campaigning for the diffusion of a

book written by an anti-clerical propagandist which is entitled: "Souvenirs of the Life of a Carmelite."

COMMUNISM AND MALARIA CITED AS CHIEF MISSION DIFFICULTIES IN CEYLON

By N.C.W.C. News Service.

ROME, Jan. 18.—Communism and malaria are mentioned as two of the difficulties confronting missionaries on the island of Ceylon in the report sent to the motherhouse of the Oblates of Mary Immaculate, here, by the Most Rev. Alfred Guyomard, O.M.I., Bishop of Jaffna.

Communism is active at Colombo and in certain towns of the island, Bishop Guyomard states, but at Jaffna the caste system has proved an obstacle to its propaganda and, so far, there is no active Communist organization there. "Without waiting for the eventual," the Bishop adds, "we are organizing conferences of a social order at Jaffna and the missionaries are distributing pamphlets to the people and putting them on guard against the dangers of Communism."

Malaria is endemic, the Bishop says, and, unfortunately, the people are so impoverished that they do not have means of subsistence which would help them to resist its ravages. Of 36 missions, 14 are located in sections where the fever rages continually and carries off at least a third of the Catholic population annually. Missionaries do not escape the fever and for this reason, Bishop Guyomard stated, it has been necessary to make frequent changes so that those priests serving the fever-infested sections may have a chance to regain their health in other sections.

REDS' BOGEY IS EXPOSED AS BOXES ARE FOUND TO HOLD CHRISTMAS TOYS

By M. MASSIANI

(Paris Correspondent, N. C. W. C. News Service)

PARIS, Jan. 18.—Despite all denials, Communist propaganda persists in accusing priests of supplying arms to Rightist groups.

The Bishops who have learned of such public statements by Communists regarding the clergy of their respective dioceses have called for an investigation to prove the inanity of such allegations.

A ridiculous situation occurred at Goussainville, a labor suburb of Paris.

Some Boy Scouts who motored from Paris were unloading boxes in the

courtyard of a Catholic welfare center. Communists immediately wrote to their paper denouncing "the transportation of arms" and notified the prefecture, insinuating that something would happen on Christmas Eve when the Catholics assembled for midnight Mass.

As a matter of precaution a small detail of gendarmes was provided to maintain order. At the end of the Mass, both children and parents were invited to the courtyard of the rectory to be present at the opening of the boxes.

The boxes contained toys and oranges, the gifts of the Scouts to the children of the laboring class. Unfortunately, no Communists witnessed the distribution.

COMMUNIST PERIL IN IRELAND CITED BY REDEMPTORIST

By N.C.W.C. News Service.

DUBLIN, Jan. 18.—The Bishops and priests of Ireland continue to warn the people of the dangers of Communism in their midst and to instruct them in the need for combating it.

A striking article by the Rev. J. A. Cleary, C.S.S.R., appeared in the January-February issue of *The Redemptorist*, entitled "Danger Ahead in Ireland," in which the writer points out that while there were 27,000 Communists in Russia in 1917 out of 150,000,000 people, there is a larger proportion of Communists in Ireland today.

There are, he said, several Marxist labor colleges in England for the teaching of civil war tactics. The Communists, he said, would never revolt against an Irish Government on the clear-cut issue of Communism against Christ.

The so-called United Front established in Dublin in September, 1934, he asserted, was the child of a union between Saor Eire and the Communist Party. A branch of the Communist International was founded in 1933, in Dublin and had held many public meetings. A branch of the Friends of Soviet Russia has existed for the last six years in Dublin and in Belfast since 1932. The *Catholic Standard* pointed out on November 20, that many Communist cells exist in Dublin. For those who shrank from being known as Communists the Communist International has provided a special organization known as "The Anti-War and Anti-Fascist League," the speaker said.

Father Cleary further pointed out that notwithstanding the horrors in Russia, Mexico and Spain and the

testimony of Bishops, priests and nuns, and in spite of Papal pronouncements and solemn declarations of Bishops,

men were to be found on public boards rejecting resolutions of sympathy with the Catholics of Spain. Several of

these speakers, he said, were connected with Communist organizations while posing as good Catholics.

Trotsky Finds Refuge in Mexico

HE MAY NOT PROVE TO BE A GOOD NEIGHBOR

By JOHN LAFARGE, S.J., in "AMERICA," January 16, 1937

THE news that former revolutionary co-leader Leon Trotsky has been ejected from his Norwegian retreat and has set sail for Mexico may be thought to be of concern only to his professional enemies, the Stalinist Bolsheviks now securely reigning in Soviet Russia. These, of course, are crying aloud over the treachery of Mexico's hospitality to the hated rival. In Mexico itself the Soviet Union's representatives have made drastic but useless representations over this insult to Russian democracy. Groups friendly to Calles are reported as ready to raise revolt if the arch-Bolshevik sets foot on Mexican soil. Outside of his own professional followers, the Trotskyist faction of Mexican Communists, it is hard to see how anybody can be particularly happy over his appearance. In the United States the sentiment appears to be that since Trotsky is pretty much of a "has-been," completely out with the ruling Communist caste, it makes little difference where he is. He is just another celebrated exile, who could form a Left wing of the ex-monarchs' club, along with Alfonso of Spain and ex-King Ferdinand of Bulgaria.

All this is true enough as far as it goes. It may be only adding another headache to an already overstocked supply, to be troubled about Trotsky. Nevertheless, he has said and done enough to persuade a thoughtful person that he will bear watching.

Regardless of Moscow's official attitude toward Trotsky, the truth is that the plan of revolutionary achievement in Spain worked out as Trotsky had conceived it. The principal apostle of the Popular Front in Spain was the anarchist Andreas Nin, who had been one of Trotsky's right-hand men in Moscow, and was still devoted to him and was his mouthpiece in Spain. This Popular Front, which brought 1,200,000 organized Spanish workers into line with the Red Front in December, 1934, is Moscow's most notable achievement in our times. Its policy has now become familiar in this country as well as abroad: the method of issuing popular slogans, totally irrespective of whether they harmonize or not with the supposed ultimate aims

of Communism. Any slogan will do, as long as it will capture the imagination of the multitude, and secure, by hook or by crook, adherence to the Popular Front, of which, however, the Communist party remains the sole organizer and ultimate motive power. Democracy, peace, anti-war, anti-Fascism, even the Christmas spirit, are so much grist to the Popular Front mill. As Andreas Nin stated to the correspondent of the London *Times*, who wrote on January 11, 1933 (*Dublin Review*, October, 1936):

We began first with an educational campaign, and now we are engaged in organizing Workers' Soviets in anticipation of the crucial moment when the Workers must be the first to arrive on the scene and to seize power. . . . We undertook to group the masses round the symbols of democracy, such symbols as they could understand, to give the masses illusions . . . we organized political juntas which in Spain have a traditional significance, and which at the right moment could be converted into Soviets.

From his retreat at Kadikoy, in Turkey, in the early part of 1931, Mr. Trotsky used precisely the same language. Though the Popular Front hand is the hand of Stalin and Comrade Dimitrov, general secretary of the Third International, the voice, the voice is singularly like that of Trotsky. "In a series of articles and letters," states Trotsky, "we proved the tremendous importance of the slogans of democracy for the further development of the Spanish revolution. Unemployment relief, the seven-hour working day, the agrarian revolution, national autonomy—all these vital, basic questions are in one way or another connected in the consciousness of the great majority of the Spanish workers—the anarcho-syndicalists included—with the future Cortes." So, he concludes, Communists must get busy and see that the Cortes elections take place in the spirit of the Communist revolution.

Mr. Trotsky made perfectly plain that Communists should not be in any way squeamish about the choice of

means for creating "illusion." He writes: "There exist—by your leave—Marxists who have a lofty contempt for such a slogan, for example, as universal, equal, direct and secret suffrage for all men and women from the age of 18. Nevertheless had the Spanish Communists advanced this slogan in time and defended it in speeches, articles, leaflets and scatter-bills they would have acquired tremendous popularity. . . . We do not solidarize ourselves for a moment with the illusions of the masses; but whatever is *progressive* under these illusions must be utilized by us to the utmost, otherwise we are not revolutionists but contemptible pedants. The mere lowering of the voting age grips the hearts of many hundreds of thousands of working men and working women, peasants and peasant women."

The masses of workers, soldiers and peasants *must pass through the stage of Socialist-republican illusions in order to rid themselves of these illusions* all the more radically and conclusively." (Italics mine.) Experience teaches the value of a "broad and audacious united-front policy." Communists will "tirelessly explain to the masses of the people . . . that no alliance is needed with the republicans and the Socialists whose policy will inevitably be founded on concessions to the reaction and will tend to cover up its intrigues."

The peasants, writes Trotsky, "will wait with the greatest anxiety what the Cortes will say about the *agrarian question*. Is it hard to understand what significance a Communist agrarian program unfolded from the tribune of the Cortes might have under present conditions? . . . The tribune of the Cortes is needed by the Communists as a bond with the masses. And from this bond will develop actions which will flow over the head of the Cortes. Here lies the essence of the revolutionary-dialectical relationship toward parliament."

Most definite was Mr. Trotsky that there would be no middle course, no possible illusion that there was any *natural* connection between the workers' spontaneous revolt against unjust conditions in Spain and the Communist

revolution as such. He repeatedly and bitterly upbraided the Stalin regime, the Moscow "epigones," for the idea, in his mind unworkable and totally false, that there could be any "growing over" by a process of natural evolution from the "bourgeois revolution" that strove to initiate social reforms into the Utopia of the Communist dictatorship. The latter could be achieved only by a drastic seizure of power. "The revolution," writes Trotsky, "does not believe in words. It tests everything and, what is more, it tests it in blood. Only the dictatorship of the proletariat can overthrow the rule of the bourgeoisie. . . . Make your preparations for the dictatorship of the proletariat, prepare seriously, stubbornly, tirelessly!"

Nevertheless, the great democratic illusion must not be disturbed and the reality too quickly unmasked. "Immediately, however, the Spanish Communists are confronted with the task *not of struggle for power, but of the struggle for the masses*, and furthermore, this struggle will develop in the next period on the basis of the bourgeois republic and to a great degree under the slogans of democracy."

Just how this little job is to be accomplished is made plain. "Every time the masses are involved into struggle, they invariably feel—cannot but feel—an acute need for an authoritative organization rising above the parties, factions, sects, and capable of uniting all the workers for joint action. One must know how to put forward this slogan to the masses at a suitable occasion—and such occasions are now met with at every step." And do not be premature.

In his *Ten Commandments of the Spanish Communist* Mr. Trotsky repeats his assertion of the undying opposition of the "proletariat," represented by Russian Communism, to the "'Socialist' republican agents of the bourgeoisie," that is, to the moderately democratic and progressive elements who were trying to restore social order. That "violent clashes between the workers and the Socialist leaders will increase," opens up great possibilities for the revolutionary policy of the united front.

The slogan of *national self-determination* is convenient for use among the strongly nationalistic Catalonians. "In the future, national questions, as well as all others, will be decided by Soviets as the organs of the dictatorship of the proletariat." Once the Communist regime can dictate to the Basques and Catalonians, they will be told whether they may enjoy national self-determination.

"The Communists issue the most radical democratic slogans: complete freedom for the proletariat organizations, freedom of local self-administration, election of all officials by the people, admission to suffrage of men and women from the age of 18, etc., formation of a workers' militia and, later on, of a peasants' militia. Confiscation of all properties of the dynasty and of the Church for the benefit of the people, above all of the unemployed, the poor peasants, and for improving the conditions of the soldiers. Complete separation of Church and state. All civil rights and political privileges to the soldiers." The Communists must immediately work out a revolutionary agrarian program.

"By insuring unity in their own ranks, the Communists will win the confidence of the *proletariat* and of the great majority of the poor peasants, *they will take power*, arms in hand, and they will open up the era of the Socialist revolution." (His italics.)

The differences between the tactics that the Communists followed in Spain, and what Mr. Trotsky *wanted them to follow*, are, for all practical purposes, the differences between Tweedledum and Tweedledee. Like Jove from the head of Minerva, sprang perfect from his relentless brain the revolutionary program of shrewd analysis of popular discontent, bitter hostility to all genuinely reforming elements, "illusions" created by clever articulation of popular sentiment into manufactured slogans, patient timing of the precise moment for the seizure of power "rifle in hand," which is always ecstatically contemplated, preceded by the organization of Communist power by the Popular Front. The hatred borne toward Trotsky by Stalin does not prevent a powerful respect for his ideas, his personality, and his numerous following, entertained through fear. This fear manifested itself in the recent trials of Trotsky's Moscow accomplices. And terror brings stranger bed fellows than politics. The united-front program that has already succeeded in so profoundly confusing and impressing American psychology is in its essence a Trotsky program. At any rate you do not find him caricatured in the ever-gibing Moscow press. Mr. Trotsky may be a has-been, a cipher, an outcast and a worm of the earth. But he is the type of worm one would rather not have burrowing next door.

Editorial Comment

The question raised by Father LaFarge is worthy of serious consideration. Already the arrival of Mr. Trotsky in a neighboring republic has had repercussions in the United States. The chief result has been the transfer of the Stalin-Trotsky controversy to the United States where it is now being debated hotly by partisans of both parties. Hitherto it had disturbed European countries to such an extent that Mr. Trotsky was invited to leave each country where he took up residence. If he is deported from Mexico, will this "planet without an orbit" seek new refuge in the U. S. A.?

That query is not without foundation. Shortly after

his arrival in Mexico City, Trotsky arranged to address, by telephone, thousands of his followers assembled in a New York auditorium. Someone ruined the connections between New York and Mexico City, perhaps by cutting the wire in some obscure point. Mr. Trotsky's speech was a fiasco, having been read to a disappointed audience by an agent. But those same agents are working stealthily at present in Washington and elsewhere, preparing the ground for Mr. Trotsky's admission into the United States under the pretext that he is "a political refugee."

E. A. W.

RELIGIOUS DISCRIMINATION

Varied Comment on the Problem Effect of Russia's New Constitution

To the Editor of The New York Times:

The new Russian Constitution is certainly having its desired effect when one is so obviously deceived as to say, as did William M. Cubert in his letter to *The Times*, that a statement "which puts Russia in the same boat with Germany, does violence to my American spirit of fair play and candor." Mr. Cubert cites Article 124 of the Constitution, which supposedly guarantees freedom of religious worship. But the vital significance of the whole article escapes Mr. Cubert when it provides for freedom of anti-religious propaganda. It requires no profound thought to realize the effect of this freedom to disseminate atheism when there is not provided at the same time the license for religious propaganda.

Exactly how much credence may be given any of the guarantees in this Constitution, in which, according to Harold Denny, "there are some jokes," may be tested by Mr. Denny's further statements in the November 25 issue of *The Times*: "And it must always be borne in mind that such words and phrases as free speech, freedom of meeting, and the like, simply do not mean what they mean in advanced liberal countries." "Soviet spokesmen have recently and repeatedly made abundantly clear that the guarantee of free speech, free press and free assemblage are not to be taken in our sense."

An official publication of the Soviet Government, the "A B C of Communism," says that "the Soviet power must exert the most fervent propaganda against religion. * * * All religions are one and the same poison, intoxicating and deadening the mind, the will and the conscience; a fight to the death must be declared against them."

Mr. Cubert may say that this sort of thing is done away with by the provision in the Constitution. But that the whole treatment of religion by the Soviets in their new Constitution is merely a temporary expedient can be appreciated by the following state-

ments of Earl Browder in his book, "What Is Communism"; "We stand without any reservations for education that will root out beliefs in the supernatural, that will remove the religious prejudices which stand in the way of organizing the masses for socialism, that will withdraw the special privileges of religious institutions."

He further says that they do not stress this viewpoint: "It is true that we have learned to be much more careful about the quality of our mass work in this field. We take pains not to offend any religious belief. We don't want to close the minds of religious people to what we have to tell them about capitalism, because of some remark or action offensive to their religion. We can well say that the cessation of ineffective, rude and vulgar attacks upon religion is a positive improvement in our work."

I am not in any way defending Hitler, who has reduced religion to a very low ebb in Germany, nor any of his policies which would put back civilization a few centuries, but it seems obvious to me from the above what is to be the fate of religion in Russia because of their deliberate failure to provide for freedom of religious propaganda. And it should certainly "do violence" to Mr. Cubert's "American spirit."

WILLIAM J. TIERNEY.

New York, January 11, 1937.

For Further Research

New York Times, January 16, 1937.

To the Editor of The New York Times:

William M. Cubert, in a letter to *The New York Times*, protests against putting Russia "in the same boat with Germany," because his investigations seem to indicate that religious freedom exists in Russia.

May I suggest that he should look into the following question: Does Russia allow the same freedom to teachers and preachers of the Christian religion as to teachers and preachers of atheism? I hope that when he has looked into this question he will let us know the result of his new investigation.

As he refers to the "American spirit of fair play and frankness," may I suggest that he should also ponder the unanimous decision given last Monday by the Supreme Court of the United States on the American view of the right of free speech, and compare that with the practice of the Russian Government.

JOSEPH M'SORLEY, C. S. P.

New York, January 11, 1937.

ANTI-COMMUNIST PRIEST ESCAPES BOMB BLAST

Father Joseph Ledit Is Believed Object of Thrower of Missile at Rome

Baltimore Sun, January 13, 1937.

By The Associated Press:

ROME, Jan. 12.—Explosion of a bomb near the office of Father Joseph Ledit, United States priest who organized an anti-Communist exposition here, was disclosed tonight—nearly a month after the incident.

The bomb, apparently home-made, burst a few feet from the window of Father Ledit's office and tore a small hole in the wall of the Russian College, where the office is located.

Father Ledit, who is from Gonzaga University, Seattle, was not hurt, although he was in the room at the time. He said today the office was shaken and then filled with smoke.

The bomb burst on December 18, and police had kept the incident a close secret in the hope of apprehending a Communist they believed responsible. They said the bomb-thrower apparently aimed at Father Ledit's window, and missed.

LIBERTY DOES NOT EXIST IN RUSSIA

New Constitution Fails to Promise Change in Conditions

A Letter in the New York Times
Jan. 9, 1937.

May I offer these words to your correspondent of Jan. 6, who finds, after study of the new Russian Constitution, no evidence of religious discrimination?

First, these facts, among many others at hand, are suggestive and are here quite pertinent: In the last available authentic report we read that 36 Catholic priests were still imprisoned on Solovki Island, 22 at Jaroslav, 20 elsewhere, and 15 arrested recently. In the last three years 90 have died on Solovki Island. In 1917 there were 896 priests (Roman Catholic) in Russia. Today there are fewer than 30, and these 30 dare not function. These figures, authenticated, appear in our own *Congressional Record*.

Only those vote in Russia who belong to the Communist party. Of the 165,700,000 population, but 1,872,488 are party members, with 935,298 candidates. And there is, and must be, but one party. Obvious implication at once appear. And does this status of things make Russia a democracy?

Important to note that religious liberty was guaranteed under the former

Constitution as well as under the new. And what religious denomination was not ruthlessly persecuted under it? Does the new Constitution, hence, necessarily mean anything in the way of change? Nothing at all. The "Handbook on the Soviet Union" says: "Foreign citizens, as well as Soviet citizens, are entitled under the law to enjoy religious freedom and the right to religious services. In accordance with the decree of Jan. 1, 1918, every citizen may profess any religion or none."

But study the offset and the workableness of the decree: (1) "The unimpeded performance of religious rites is guaranteed in so far as they do not disturb public order and are not accompanied by all infringement of the rights of the citizens of the Soviet Union." (2) Hence, on Nov. 14, 1936, collective farm women went to church. What happened? "Labor discipline," was violated, public order disturbed and the poor creatures were summarily penalized.

What changes will follow from the new Constitution? Article 124 guarantees freedom of religious worship, renews the old "guarantee," but Article 130 provides: "It is the duty of every citizen of the U. S. S. R. to maintain labor discipline and to respect the rules of Socialist human intercourse." But, attendance at church is a breach of labor discipline.

Provision of the new Constitution as those of the old relative to freedom of religion and freedom of speech and of the press must continue to prove palpable subterfuges. Communism, inherently and professedly, cannot abide freedom, specially freedom of religion. Communism imposes a philosophy. There is no choice.

EDWARD L. FENLON.

Brooklyn, Jan. 6, 1937.

"LIQUIDATING" RELIGION

Freedom of Worship in Russia Held More Theoretical Than Factual

New York Times, Jan. 16, 1937

To the Editor of The New York Times:

In his "Red Pacifism" Herbert W. Stanley noted the confusion of thought in the public mind of the United States in respect to his theme. "Unquestionably," he says, "the number * * * who are conscious supporters of Communist revolution is small." Nevertheless, he indicates that not a few among us unwittingly uphold the menace. Stanley Randolph, whose reply to my letter of Jan. 9 *The Times* published, may be of this number. His very virtues, which are those of Americans generally, are apt to mislead him and us.

Lovers of progress, generous, to an extent guileless, the freest people in history, some of us have become excited even to envy by the supposed strides of Russia in so short a time, by its pledges for the downtrodden, by its admittedly constructive Constitution, by its marvelously subtle propaganda, etc. Further insight, however, must reveal that the picture and the promise are scarcely less fictitious than Satan's to Christ: "All these will I give Thee, if, falling down, Thou wilt adore me." I write in the belief that the truth can come even more sweepingly among us, who by temper and tradition are admittedly individualistic, fair and free.

1. *Freedom in Russia*: Who cannot discern that no country, as Russia, can be free where dictatorship is a fact, where there can be but one party, where the government countenances only those in rigid consonance with its every policy, where the entire press is its press, where the courts apply but a class justice to suit the ruling party, where secret police are privileged to try all cases in secret session, even to the death sentence of defendants, where every one must work for the government, the sole employer, and, finally, where there is no chance to expatriate one's self? True, the new Soviet Constitution is accepted by the unwary as an advancing policy toward freedom. But the original conditions are in status quo. These are factual statements.

DIFFICULTIES OF VOTING

2. *Voting in Russia*: That there is no freedom of voting in Russia follows as a corollary. Mr. Randolph says that every citizen in Russia can not only vote but can even run for office. This is the typical official Soviet statement. But the significant question really is not who is able to vote, but how is he able.

Who does not know what it means to run for office in the United States, the home of freedom? Who does not know that it means to belong to a party, to be a group nominee and to have financial backing for the campaign? But how is this possible in Russia? There an individualistic prospective candidate is pinned to the post. It is absurd to speak of his "running" anywhere for anything. How even announce himself? All papers are property of the government. All printing presses of whatever kind are property of the government. He could not hire a hall, for all halls are property of the government. He could not reach a street-corner assemblage, for that would prove a violation of "public order." And even if he got a crowd, what could he promise in the way of

changed policy or principle, with secret police dogging his every step? He would be left merely with the privilege of confiding his ambition viva voce to family and other immediates, but today even that is not without hazards in Russia. Then, in reality, who votes and who runs? These are facts emphasizing that many good Americans have not yet even half awakened to the utter finesse of it all.

3. *Roman Catholic Centers in Russia*: "Every one knows," Mr. Randolph writes, "that the Roman Catholic faith never had any following among the Russian people. The hundreds of priests in Russia in (before) 1917 were there entirely to minister to the large army of (foreign) commercial agents, salesmen, technical experts, etc. * * * The decrease in the number of Catholic priests * * * indicates that Russian economy has liberated itself."

WORK OF PRIESTS

Mr. Randolph would do well to consult history relatively to "never." As for the claim that the Catholic clergy participated in the civil war against the Soviet, I will momentarily let it stand—an unsupported, categorical claim. If "reactionary" means refusal to approve atheism, confiscation and even worse cruelty, surely the Catholic Church, as other churches, will forever content itself with the sacred stigma. In reality, then, Mr. Randolph says that the Catholic priest was in Russia merely to minister to the spiritual needs of foreigners. Let us see how true that is.

First, then, the city of Sarepta, 25,000 population, on the Volga River, was almost, if not entirely, Roman Catholic. Catherine the Great, who reigned 1762 to 1796, here made land grants and other concessions to certain German immigrants. All became Russian citizens, and their children and children's children so remained, even as the generations were remarkable for the vehemence of their Roman Catholicity.

Secondly, there was a colony of Roman Catholics, 10,000 to 15,000, fifteen miles from Odessa, on the Black Sea.

More, there were imposing settlements of Roman Catholics in the North Caucasus, in White Russia and in Careliya, near Finland.

Does Mr. Randolph know what happened to all those Roman Catholic pastors, curates and people, not during the civil war period, 1918-21, but during 1929-31, a time of acknowledged tranquillity? What grounds for asserting that these good priests were hounded, arrested, banished, put to death for revolt at a moment when there was no revolt in the whole country? The case

was that of severe, cruel "liquidation" of religion in those so-called foreign colonies. Truth to tell, thousands of those poor erstwhile Germans, Finns, Estopians, Poles, all peaceful, God-fearing peasants, were dispersed, banished, killed; other thousands escaping as best they could, eventually finding harbor in far-off South America. To what extent do all these facts prove that Soviet economy has liberated itself from foreign capital, technicians, etc.? Nine hundred priests ministering to foreign salesmen, technicians, etc. It's not funny; it's pathetically naive.

4. *The "Liquidation of Religion"*: In *The Worker's Voice* of March 1, 1933, is an article by Joseph Stalin himself entitled "Communists and Religion," in which he says: "The party cannot be neutral toward religion and does

conduct anti-religious propaganda against all and every religious prejudice. * * * The party cannot be neutral toward the bearer of religious prejudices, toward the reactionary clergy (Reactionary—a term now made to do duty toward any one who fails to bow complacently to communistic dogma and dictation), who poison the minds of the toiling masses. Have we suppressed the reactionary clergy? Yes, we have. The unfortunate thing is that it has not been completely liquidated. Anti-religious propaganda is a means by which the complete liquidation of the clergy must be brought about. Cases occur when certain members of the party hamper the complete development of anti-religious propaganda. If such members are expelled, it is a good thing because there is no room for such

'Communist' in the ranks of our party."

The fact that churches were crowded at Christmas but emphasizes two significant matters: (a) the limited places for church assembly not yet taken over by the government; (b) the herculean effort at lifting religion from out the human heart.

But religion is to be "liquidated"—religion as such. The salient vital high priest of communism has spoken. In his statement are the set objective and the important principle of action. Indeed, he announces the program. Religion, all religion, is to be "liquidated." What may any one add to the Stalin ultimatum?

EDWARD I. FENLON.
Brooklyn, Jan. 20, 1937.



Knowledge of Communism and A United Christian Front Against The Third International



Announcement

The editors announce two interesting features for the April and May issues. In one, prepared by Rev. Joseph Slattery, S.J., Professor of English of Woodstock College, assisted by a group of Scholastics, a study will be made of Communist activities in the field of literature, art, the drama, cinema, etc. Thus the tactics of Communism on the "cultural front" will be examined and catalogued.

The other feature will be a study of the recent "treason trials" which led to the condemnation of old line Bolsheviks such as Kamenev, Zinoviev, Radek, Sokolnikov and Pyatakov. Rev. Edmund Walsh, S. J., of

Georgetown University was present at one of these sensational spectacles in 1923 and has accumulated a voluminous documentation on similar trials since that date. A verbatim report of the recent court proceedings has been published by the Soviet Government and furnishes one of the most bewildering manifestations of Communist psychology ever issued. The reason behind the trial, the line of argument pursued by the government and those extraordinary "confessions" will be discussed. The entire incident is a valuable commentary on the state of Communism within Russia at this time.



Part III

The Christian Program



What Communism in the United States Would Mean

PASTORAL LETTER OF ARCHBISHOP McNICHOLAS

CINCINNATI, FEB. 12.—*Victorious Communism would mean in America another Civil War, not to abolish slavery but to make slaves of American citizens, the Most Rev. John T. McNicholas, O.P., Archbishop of Cincinnati, declared in a pastoral on "Communism: Its Evils and Its Causes."*

The pastoral, published in pamphlet form, was ordered to be read in all churches in the Archdiocese during Lent. Copies are to be distributed by pastors to every Catholic family. Permission has been given pastors to divide the letter into three parts to be read on successive Sundays. Priests are required also to preach two sermons on Communism during Lent.

IT SEEMS almost incredible that Communism should be able to make headway in our country where liberty and God's abundant blessings have been so long enjoyed. But Communism is here, hideous as it is, and is determined to expand.

"We must distinguish between growing Communism and victorious Communism. Growing Communism will make any promises before it attains power. Since it recognizes no moral principles it will employ any means to gain victory over its opponents. Victorious Communism loses no time in repudiating its promises.

"In the minds of many a distinction is made between American Communism and foreign Communism. It is somehow assumed that American Communism is different from that of other countries, that it will speedily correct the abuses of capitalism and industrialism and that it must eventually evolve under the influence of our institutions into a pure democracy. We must not be misled by these false assumptions. American Communism in no way differs from Russian Communism. Its promoters boldly say that Communism is twentieth-century Americanism.

"Communism is international. It has as its object the overturning of every form of government that is not communistic. Communism aims at world domination. It no longer thinks it expedient to speak of direct action through revolutions. But all its official declarations, even those as recent as the Seventh World Congress of the Communist International, 1935, make it clear that the mission of Communism is to promote World

Revolution. Its promoters, whether fanatics or not, whether sincere or not, seem to have the power to fanatize their followers.

"International Communism is already a 'house divided against itself.' This is to be expected. Division is inherent in error as unity is inherent in truth. While there is dissension in the ranks of both international and American Communism, they stand united in one Popular Front against the Catholic Church. They hate the strength of Catholic unity, founded on the truth of the Gospels of Christ, which Communists seem unwilling to investigate.

PHILOSOPHY OF COMMUNISM

"We cannot dismiss American Communism as we have in the past dismissed movements which promoted bigotry and religious strife. Its philosophy of life is anti-God and anti-religion. It is even anti-human. Its gross materialism and its virulent hatred of the very idea of God would make mere animals of men and women.

"One who joins the ranks of American Communists 'must subordinate himself to all decisions of the Communist International and the Communist Party.' The American Communist assumes the obligation of carrying out promptly the decisions of the Communist International. Not a word, however, is said to him of his duty to subordinate himself to the United States, to obey its laws and to defend its Government against all outside powers working against its welfare. Every American should be deprived of his citizenship who does

not give his undivided civil allegiance to the United States.

"The American Communist, even the poorest and the unemployed, must pay weekly dues. Every payment, it is assumed, means increased interest in the Communist Party. The poor Communist worker in America, we are told, who earns the starvation wages of \$16 a week is called upon to pay \$13 a year in dues. The man earning \$40 to \$50 a week has to pay \$52 yearly in dues. If dues in like amounts were exacted from the poor and laboring classes for the Democratic or the Republican Party what complaints of extortion would be registered! Is not the payment of these dues to the Communist Party, which is controlled by the Communist International, a matter of Government investigation? Should we not, as interested American citizens, ask our Government whether Russia is not violating the agreement made when we accorded recognition? Should we not also learn the full extent of the opportunities that Russia has to carry on its Communistic propaganda through agents in this country whose position is strengthened because of our recognition? We may be reasonably sure that Russia is making use of every opportunity to spread the principles of the Communist International.

CAUSES OF COMMUNISM

"We may ask: How is it possible that such a hideous thing as Communism is able to spread so rapidly over the whole world? Is its propaganda different from anything that has ever preceded it? How can sane,

intelligent people be attracted to a system that means the worst degradation of human society ever thought out by the mind of man? How can sane men and women be induced to work for the reorganization of the people of all countries under a system which means ruin of the family, of the Church and of the State? How is it possible to bring into a world-movement, almost simultaneously in every country, well-organized groups whose chief object is a direct attack on God Himself, and the destroying of the very idea of God in the minds and hearts of others, especially in the minds and hearts of children? These same groups would destroy not only all religion but also human civilization.

I.—ATHEISM—AGNOSTICISM

"For generations the so-called learned world has been trying to rule God out of the universe. Men who have had all the advantages of education, and who by reason of their learning should have been drawn nearer to God, have turned learning into a weapon with which, in their pride, they felt they could destroy the idea of God. University professors, writers, ministers who stood in Christian pulpits, modern and liberal Rabbis, rejecting the knowledge and the glory of their traditions, in ever-increasing numbers became atheists and agnostics. Millions of young minds were influenced by their intellectual leaders.

READING PUBLIC

"The infected atmosphere of the universities soon spread to the colleges and high schools, and influenced almost imperceptibly great numbers of the American reading public. The people, realizing that God was not preached from the pulpit and sensing the atheism or agnosticism of the preachers, in turn, either became indifferent to God or doubted or denied His existence. These same preachers, having devitalized religion by taking God out of it, have been insisting for years that dogmas and creeds are not necessary. Without dogmas or creeds there can be no real and fixed code of morality.

YOUTH EASY VICTIM

"The younger generations, without standards of morality to guide them, have become in greater numbers easy victims of the radicalism of our day. There seems to be little doubt that the widespread denial or doubt of the existence of a personal God and the consequent rejecting of the vital principles of religion have, more than

anything else in the world, prepared the way for the spread of Communism. The Communists, realizing that they can make no permanent progress among those who know and believe in God, center their principal attack on the existence of a personal God. They do this while declaring liberty of conscience for all.

PHYSICAL FORCE

"If one does not believe in a personal God, why should he not be a Communist or any other kind of dangerous radical? Why, in a word, should anything prove a barrier to such a man except physical force? If atheism and agnosticism continue to spread, the growth of Communism is practically assured. It will probably have to scourge the world by famine, chaos, pestilence and war before men will humiliate themselves before God and turn again to the only Saviour of the human race, the Lord Christ.

INVITATION TO ATHEISTS

"Human reason, unaided by any revelation or supernatural religion, can furnish conclusive proofs for the existence of a personal God. All educated groups living within the territorial limits of the Archdiocese of Cincinnati who deny that existence, and wish seriously to study the proofs for it, will be given the opportunity on request. Clerical and lay professors will be assigned to the task of expounding these proofs.

II.—LIBERALS

"The liberals, and all generally who wish to be considered broad-minded, have done and are doing much to promote Communism. For generations they have been breaking down sanctions. They have thought of themselves as belonging to a smart set whose duty it was to stand with the atheists and agnostics in the so-called learned and scientific world. These liberals seem to have no convictions and no guiding principles. They are in great numbers superficial opportunists. We saw the curse of Liberalism before the World War. Certainly Liberalism gained nothing in that titanic struggle. Out of the World War came Fascism and a better organized Communism. But Liberalism seems to have learned nothing from the World War. Liberalism or broadmindedness stands for nothing today. Either it is fooled by Communism or it has not the courage to oppose it. In vague and unconvincing language it says that Communism will gradually evolve into a democratic institution, that it is important that all unite in a Popular Front to

oppose the tyranny of Fascism, which it insists is the greatest menace to America and to all nations.

"Growing Communism in America is making cats'-paws of the liberal and broadminded people. It pretends to be their friend and to cooperate with them. How can one explain the position of our liberal press and of our so-called broadminded groups that are almost unanimous in accepting the propaganda of Democracy put out by Communists and in denouncing Fascism without any qualification? Why do present-day liberals fail in the same breath to denounce the worst of all tyrannies, that of Soviet Russia?

"If Communism were triumphant tomorrow in America, its first victims would be the very weaklings—the liberals—who helped to make it victorious. The liberals who conduct our press, the educated liberals of all groups, who have no real convictions and no real stamina of character, are doing very much at the present time to prepare the way for the spread of Communism.

III.—CAPITALISTS AND INDUSTRIALISTS

"Capitalists and industrialists must take a large share of the blame for the spirit of revolt among the masses of our country. Many of them wish to dismiss the subject by saying that the wages paid the laborer, the hours of work, the standards of living, the opportunities given for the education of all the youth of the land are unequaled anywhere else in the world. They do not hesitate to assert that the more the employer does for the poor and laboring man, the more he demands. The employers and also great numbers of the employes know that too many of the union officials have not the real welfare of poor and laboring men at heart.

"These officials are prompted by motives of self-interest. If they would work solely for the good of the laboring man they would not be so arbitrary; they would take local conditions into account and they would insist on real labor democracy by giving every man a right to vote and to express his opinion. This does not mean that local labor groups are not entitled to have national leaders to represent them, as employers have, if they so desire.

"Unfortunately, too many capitalists and industrialists have failed to consider the dignity of human nature, the rights of labor, the insecurity of the poor and laboring man who wishes with self-respect and by his own efforts to have a modest but

cent home, wholesome food for himself and his family, some provision for sickness, old age and the emergencies that occur in every life, and necessary and legitimate relaxation. The same employers fail to realize that labor is as necessary to capital as capital is to labor; that the worker, therefore, is entitled to a greater share in profits than he now receives, and that he should be given, through his own chosen representatives, some voice in the management of affairs.

"It is true that the capitalist as well as the industrialist is opposed to Communism, despite the fact that he has done so much, unwittingly, to encourage it. He is very willing that our Government should attempt to rush it by legislation. This is an impossible task. He does not hesitate to say that the Catholic Church is the greatest bulwark in the country and in the world against Communism, and he condescendingly expresses his approval of her position. But his motives for opposing Communism and those of the Catholic Church are very different.

"Too many capitalists and industrialists have been so wholly immersed in financial matters that they have had no time to consider a personal God and to realize that they have a direct responsibility to Him for their treatment of labor. The benefactions, bequests and foundations of capitalists during the last two or three generations show how little interested they have been in the things of God and in supernatural religion. Their benefactions and their foundations have rarely been set up to better the lot of the poor man through whom they accumulated, in large measure, their wealth. Facing death, they should have thought of bequeathing the poor and laboring man something in a spirit of justice and restitution.

"These capitalists and industrialists who still believe in industrial slavery must have a change of heart. They must literally get on their knees and adore the personal God Whom they have denied or neglected. They must bring back religion into their personal lives. They must regulate their financial affairs by the justice and equity of religion. They have divorced religion from government, education, social life and finances with disastrous results to society. This manifold divorce has prepared the country for the spread of Communism.

"Why cannot capitalists see the light of day? We hope that they mean to be just, according to their lights, but there is ample evidence to

prove that in reality a great many of them are not just. Capital is entitled to a fair return on its investments, and nothing more. Pope Pius XI, speaking of the mutual dependence of capital and labor, insists that it is flagrantly unjust for capital to seize all the profits, if it were in a position to do so. Capitalists and industrialists, if only in the interest of self-preservation, should come together in small groups everywhere and say:

"First, thank God that such a bulwark of society as the Catholic Church defends the natural right of private property, and that this defense will last while the world lasts because the Church must defend rights founded on the natural law.

"Secondly, we shall in the future take nothing more than a fair return on investments both for ourselves and our stockholders. We shall not take fabulous salaries or bonuses. We realize that if we adopt such measures we shall disarm our critics and we shall do away, to a great extent, with one of the major causes of unrest among the masses.

"Thirdly, we shall in the future give to labor a larger share in the profits and management.

"Fourthly, we shall in our benefactions and in our last wills and testaments make provisions for the poor and laboring classes."

"Capitalists should realize that the Catholic Church is the spiritual mother of all—the rich and the poor, the learned and the unlettered, the gifted, the mediocre, the moron, the successful and the failures. She wishes to lead all in the ways of salvation. She strives to secure for all the greatest measure of justice; but she knows the weakness of human nature and patiently continues to discharge her mission.

IV.—THE LABORING AND POOR MAN

"The very sad condition of the lowest paid groups of laboring men and of the great majority of the poor has made their lot so unhappy that they have been spiritually starved. Eking out a mere existence, harassed by day and night, they have had practically no time to give to religion, to the things of God and to necessary relaxation. The destitute poor are in even a worse condition. They have known years of struggle and they are governed by a philosophy of despair. They are ready to exchange capitalism for any system, being convinced that whatever change or revolution comes, it will benefit their condition.

V.—THE NEGROES

"Among the poor must be included more than twelve million Negroes who are almost at the point of destitution. These constitute a grave problem in our country because of the failure of society to recognize the dignity of their human nature and human labor. They are one-tenth of our population. The Communists with insidious deceit are making every effort to bring them into their fold. That one-tenth of our population could readily be incorporated into American Communism, which seeks to overthrow our form of government, is a terrifying thought. If during the last six years any other group of equal numbers had been forced to live under the miserable conditions which have been the lot of our twelve million poor Negroes, we would have had to deal with serious disorders. Their religious spirit, their superstition, if you will, their innate cheerfulness and also their providence have so far helped to save them from Communism.

"We must not dismiss American Communism by saying that its members are few and that they can accomplish little. We must not consider their social program as impossible of attainment since it will never be indorsed by the majority of American citizens. A majority indorsement is not necessary. We ought to be thoroughly familiar with what a well-organized and persistent minority can do in imposing its will by the enactment of legislation and even by the passing of Constitutional Amendments. It is true that the American Communists are relatively few, but they are *active, resourceful, and fanatical*.

"We dare not dismiss Communism with an absolute denial of all its statements. We can say with the Communists that the poor man has been treated unjustly, that the laboring man has often been exploited, that many employers still consider the labor of a man as nothing more than a commodity, and maintain that the man who sells his labor sells himself for the time specified in his contract as an industrial slave. Cold and hard-hearted employers are turning millions of poor and laboring men towards Communism.

"In considering our growing American Communism we should keep in mind many facts about it and study its methods. It suits its purpose for the moment to disguise its strength and its real objective. It therefore sets up a smoke-screen to distract and to deceive the American public. It cleverly takes up what it knows will

appeal to the American people, namely, 'democracy,' making itself its champion. With 'democracy' as its chief slogan of propaganda it has succeeded, if not in making converts to Communism, at least in making an incredible number of good and sincere Americans sympathetic to its program. We are told that American Communism must eventually be modified by our democratic institutions. The greatest emphasis is thrown on the necessity of a Democratic Front in the United States to save the country from threatened Fascism. The American Communists know the advantage of such strategy and they use it. They are not failing to consolidate their gains.

"We should realize what victorious Communism would mean in America. We may be sure there would be no President of the United States, no Congress, no Supreme Court. The abolition of States' rights would be decreed. Another Civil War would be fought, not to abolish slavery but to make slaves of American citizens. This second American Civil War would in all probability take on the character of the war in Spain today. Victorious Communism in America would mean that millions of the best American citizens would be put to death for no other reason than their belief in God, or the practice of their religion according to the dictates of their conscience, or their respectability, or their possession of some property. Victorious American Communism would make America a shambles. Victorious Communism would de-Americanize our country.

CHURCH CONDEMNS COMMUNISM

"It is absolutely untrue that the Catholic Church expresses preference today for any form of government. The mission of the Church in the world is not to organize civil governments. She must condemn what is morally wrong in a government as well as in the individual. But the Church will support every form of government that is careful to assure the mere essentials of justice and due consideration for the dignity of human nature. The Church must condemn atheistic Communism because it denies the existence of a personal God, because it persecutes all religion and because it recognizes no fixed principles of justice or of government.

"The work of Communism in Russia is an open book. The most tragic chapter in the history of centuries is now being written because of its perfidy in Spain. Communism at our very door has stifled freedom in

Mexico. For years it has carried on there a relentless warfare against all religion and morality and has imposed an inconceivable tyranny upon the people to which we, as a nation, have been significantly indifferent.

"Freedom of speech, the priceless heritage of all Americans, would become under Communism Russian freedom, that is, the duty to speak in favor of the Government. In Russia our freedom of speech would be considered counter-revolution, the penalty of which is death. It is to be regretted that all sincere American Communists cannot spend a year in Russia, so that seeing its actual workings they may be convinced of its intolerable tyranny and its utter failure to solve the industrial and social problems of the world.

"All thinking and informed Americans who are truly loyal to their country, whatever be their religious faith or racial origin, are horrified by the tragedies brought about by Communism in the unhappy countries in which it has gained control. It is to be hoped that all will realize that evil days are being brought nearer to us by every advance of Communism in the United States.

"What arguments can be used to save the laboring man, the poor, the destitute, and the Negroes from Communism? They must be shown from practical life and experience that Communism has not worked in Russia, where the masses of the people have literally been enslaved. American Communism means American slavery. The Negroes must be made to realize that under Communism they will again be slaves in a far worse condition than they were before our Civil War.

VI.—OUR SCHOOLS

"It is a sad commentary on the school system of our country, which gives more attention and spends more money upon the education of its youth than many other nations combined, that it must face the terrifying charge of fostering Communism. The failure of our public schools to train our youth in religion and morality has deprived our boys and girls of their greatest safeguard against Communism. It is nonsense today to insist that the teaching of religion should be left to the home and to the churches. Religion is not taught and will not be taught in the home. It is not taught in churches where pews are empty. We are insisting that everything be left to the school except the all-important thing of religion.

MINISTERIAL ASSOCIATIONS

"How can we explain the position of ministerial associations which, blind even to their own religious interests, keep on insisting that religion be excluded from the schools? They are not insisting that irreligion, agnosticism, and Communism be kept out of the schools. We hope that these men are acting in good faith. We hope they will examine their prejudice against the Catholic Church, perhaps even their hatred of her, which may have been instilled into them from childhood days. They seem united in a strong purpose to oppose anything that they consider likely to give the Catholic Church an advantage. One would think that they have no vision for the work of religion, that they are not able to acknowledge a good religious work wherever it is done, and that they are determined to let Protestantism suffer and die rather than espouse any cause that might, even indirectly, aid the Catholic religion.

"If we seek the ultimate reason of all this, we may be sure that it is hate. They hate Rome. They hate what they call the Church of Rome. The Church they hate never existed, and if it did exist, every true Christian would have to hate it because of its evil mind and corrupt heart. This hate, we think, is for the most part not conscious. Fair and open-minded ministers in all the daily affairs of life resent the charge that they have hatred in their hearts for anything or anybody. Unfortunately, to hate Rome is a legacy of the Reformation. Let us pray that the Holy Ghost may illumine the minds of ministers and direct their thoughts in the ways of God. Ministers who know the Catholic Church cannot possibly hate her.

CHRISTIAN FRONT

"To fight Communism is not merely the work of Catholics. They can be counted upon to do more than their share in defending their country against this Red revolution, just as they did in giving more than their quota in the World War. Communism should be fought by all men of good will. Likewise, all men of good will should unite in preparing a defense against Communism. The best possible defense is to put religion in all our schools. Investigation will show that Communism is being taught in hundreds of our schools. Put it out, and put religion in!

VII.—LABOR UNIONS

"We have in our labor unions dangerous radical elements. It is to the interest of Communism to encourage

m. Communists look upon strikes, riots, and civil disorders as so many opportunities to gain advantage or even to assume control. Strikes and the consequent public disorder are matters that concern the general welfare. Public opinion should be aroused against strikes that are promoted by dangerous radicals. Public opinion should be fair to labor, but relentless in opposing Communism in its ranks.

VIII.—LEGISLATORS

"Legislators, for the most part, have divorced Government from fixed standards of morality. The result is that the men of sterling principles are now fewer in our legislative bodies from year to year. We find that capitalists and industrialists, through lobbyists, are able in a large measure to control legislation for their own selfish purposes. Legislators, disregarding moral principles, will trade votes in order to serve lobbies or their own interests. It is little wonder that radical legislation, shocking to the moral sense, has been written into our statute books. There is danger of legislation still more radical. Communism is alert to take advantage of this declining branch of our Government which is doing very much to bankrupt democracy. Communistic tendencies should be watched, not only in our legislatures, but also in the judicial and executive branches of our Government."

IX. PROPAGANDA

"One of the major causes of the spread of Communism is its effective propaganda. All opinion-forming agencies are used by it. The infection is first of all, carried on from person to person. The press, the radio, the legitimate stage, the moving picture, the popular literature, leaflets, lectures, and textbooks in our schools have been, and are being, employed in a subtle manner in its system of propaganda. Liberty-loving Americans of all groups would do well to unite in insisting upon a thorough investigation of these agents of propaganda."

PRAYER

"It is our duty to pray under all circumstances. Our Holy Father, Pope Pius XI, has ordered that the prayers after all low Masses be said for Russia, in order to stem the tide of Communism at its very source. He has approved for the whole world the prayer: 'Saviour of the world, save Russia!' We should also add: 'Saviour of the world, save Spain! Saviour of the world, save Mexico!' We

should say daily definite prayers for Communists. Many of them, even among the fanatical, are sincere. If converted, they could become ardent crusaders in the cause of Christ. We hope that most Communists have been deceived and are acting in good faith. Let us pray for them. Let us pray even for those in bad faith.

"We must pray, according to the instructions of St. Augustine, as if all depended upon prayer, and work as if everything depended upon us, the workers. There is a very definite program in the Gospels of Christ to counteract Communism. That program is the performance of the spiritual and corporal works of mercy. The spiritual works are: to counsel the doubtful; to instruct the ignorant; to convert the sinner; to comfort the sorrowful; to forgive injuries; to bear wrong patiently; to pray for the living and the dead. The corporal works are: to feed the hungry; to give drink to the thirsty; to clothe the naked; to harbor the harborless; to visit the sick; to visit the imprisoned; and to bury the dead.

"Let us find a means of carrying out this program today, taking into account our actual conditions and the strife existing between class and class. We shall give in the near future definite instructions to the pastors regarding an organized movement to carry out this program.

"We must remember that our acts and words, if they are to be spoken in the Name of Christ and for Him, must be words and acts of love. We must hate the hideous teaching of Communism, but we must love and serve the Communists as brothers for whom Christ died. All understand the language of love. The greatest number can be won by the ministry of love."

February 15, 1937.

"CHRISTIAN FRONT" MOVEMENT GROWS ALL OVER IRELAND

Standard & Times, Philadelphia, Pa.,
Jan. 8, 1937

DUBLIN, Dec. 28 (NC).—The fine impulse of the Irish Christian Front is increasing in momentum and has penetrated into every part of the Irish Free State. It has even crossed the border and organized its first open-air meeting in Belfast.

In bitterly cold and snowy weather, the gathering took place in Clonard Street, but the weather did not prevent

a fine attendance. A parade, carrying banners, came from Smithfield, preceded by pipe bands, and heralded the opening of the meeting at which the speeches were relayed by loud-speakers.

Mr. Belton, T.D., one of the principal speakers, announced that early in the new year the organization would probably hold a national conference. "If so much attention appears to have been given to Spain," he said, "it is because of the vital urgency of the Spanish situation, but at no time do we overlook the fact that Ireland is the country which is vital to Irishmen, and from the beginning of this organization has kept steadily before its members the defending, maintaining, and developing of their Christian heritage."

"In addition to the propaganda work of public meetings, about 100 branches have been organized. It is our intention to build up a National Christian Laymen's Organization for the defense of Christian principles and our Christian heritage."

At a meeting held at Naas, the Very Rev. M. Morris said: "There is no such thing in Catholic duty as neutrality." The meeting was the first to be held in County Kildare.

The Rev. P. J. Gannon, S.J., said that all who had followed the course of events for the last 20 years or kept in touch with the currents of thought and emotion moving across the land were aware of a growing challenge to certain traditional loyalties on which the life of the nation rests.

These currents, he said, originated in curious quarters and followed very erratic courses. Some observers took undue alarm; others, more numerous, viewed them with disdain, he remarked, adding that neither attitude was wise. "The Irish Christian Front," he said, "ought to command the sympathy of every Christian in Ireland, whatever be his political affiliations in the ordinary sense of the word. The Christian Front aims only at safeguarding our Christian heritage under any Government Irish democracy may duly elect. The denial of God is the denial of democracy, and this becomes apparent when one studies the Russian experiment which has resulted in a servile state, if ever such existed."

"I believe that our movement has come to stay. I think it was called for; I wish it every success, not merely because I am a priest, but because I am an Irishman who loves my country and also a democrat who believes in liberty."

WHEREIN WE AGREE AND DISAGREE WITH THE COMMUNIST

REV. DANIEL LORD, S.J., in *Our Sunday Visitor*, Jan. 31, 1937.

"We agree with Communism on these points:

"First.—In repudiation of selfishness, greed, vicious competition, and disparity of justice in the relation between employer and employe.

"Second.—In demanding the rights to decent and living wages and standards, to normal family life, to education, training, equal justice before the law, and opportunity for recreation and fuller life.

"Third.—In holding as a crime injustice to any individual or group, and especially injustice due to oppression of workers.

"Fourth.—In the belief in the solidarity of man, and in the right of the state to safeguard the best interests of its citizens.

"We disagree with Communism on these points:

"First.—We believe in God and can prove there is a God, whereas Communism is atheism.

"Second.—We believe that God created a purposeful world, therefore it does not, as the Communists say, evolve by class or any other struggle.

"Third.—This world is a struggle ground for another better world beyond the grave, whereas the Communists say there is no supernatural.

"Fourth.—We know that spiritual man is immortal, whereas Communists say man is only material.

"Fifth.—We accept Christ, St. Paul, the Popes, and the saints as safe leaders, whereas Marx, Lenin, Stalin, et al., are biased by their materialistic theories and have not studied the other side.

"Sixth.—We believe in revolution by Christian principles and love, as against revolution based on class hatred and violence.

"Seventh.—We believe in widespread cooperation, as against class war.

"Eighth.—We have a basis of essentials for equality, as against dictatorship by the one class of proletarians.

"Ninth.—We believe in the First and only Supernatural, as against the Third International."

CATHOLICS START WAR ON IRRELIGION

Alumni Federation Appeals to 300,000
College Graduates of Faith
to Join Drive

GRAVE MENACE IS SEEN

Forces of Communism, Fascism, and
"Materialistic Capitalism" to Be
Opposed Nationally

New York Times, Feb. 21, 1937

Aroused at the spread of irreligion, the National Catholic Alumni Federation, in a statement made public yesterday, appealed to the 300,000 American Catholic college graduates and interested non-Catholics to join forces and assume the lead in fighting this "product of Communism, Fascism, and materialistic capitalism."

The federation is composed of the alumni associations of 60 Catholic colleges and universities in the United States and speaks for more than 200,000 American Catholic college graduates.

Man's spiritual nature was cited by the federation as his greatest defense against the modern forces which seek to destroy his faith in God. It listed these forces as: "(1) The absolute state in the order of government; (2) Communism and materialistic capitalism in the economic order; (3) perversions in the moral order."

The appeal, it was declared, is a frank effort to "stimulate the intelligence of American Catholic college men and other educated men of goodwill who realize the dangers that face us."

QUESTIONS HELD CHALLENGE

"Whither Europe? Whither America? Whither western civilization?" it asked. "These questions are challenging every thinking man.

"In Russia, Communism; in Italy and Germany, Fascism; in Spain, a death battle between rival politico-economic forces; in Turkey and Mexico, dictatorships in other forms. In these countries and elsewhere suppression of liberty and regimentation are abhorrent to American thought.

"In our own country much social and economic experimentation, carried on with mingled feelings—conviction

of its necessity and fear that it may get out of hand and enslave us."

The salvation for democracy, "for unshackling men abroad and of avoiding shackles here," it was maintained, lies in attaining the following objectives:

"1. In reestablishing respect for man's personality, for his inalienable God-given right of liberty.

"2. In recognition that individual liberty is not normally possible without the institution of private property and its wide distribution among individual owners.

"3. In the abandonment of the theory upon which tyranny, economic or political, reposes; namely, that man has only an economic or material end, and that, in consequence, he exists only to serve the state or the economic power."

ACTIVITIES OF "ENEMIES" CITED

Citing present activities of the enemies of religion and democracy, the federation pointed out that these enemies were giving their time, ability, money, and even their lives to completely destroy "all that made us and all we hold most precious and sacred."

"Shameful would it be if in such a crisis and in the face of such opposition," it said, "we who are the living inheritors and who should be the chief defenders of the traditional liberties and rights of man, should remain passive, apathetic, and inactive.

"Through its chapters in various parts of the country, the National Catholic Alumni Federation offers a vehicle through which college men, who should be leaders, may unite for thought, discussion and study, and action; for the organization of public meetings, the utilization of the press, the radio, and every form of publicity and activity that will help counteract the perverse propaganda of man's enemies around us."

Among the signatories were Thomas F. Woodlock, associate editor of the *Wall Street Journal*; Edmond B. Butler, secretary of the Emergency Relief Bureau; William A. Hogan, sugar broker; and Edwin V. Berkery, attorney, all of New York.

The headquarters of the New York Chapter of the National Catholic Alumni Federation is at 120 Central Park, South, the old Catholic Club.





Part IV

Documentation



I Was a Communist! A Story of Soviet Russia. By B. Liberov. (International Catholic Truth Society, 17 Bergen Street, Brooklyn, N. Y.) Brief, vivid survey of Russian conditions under Communism.

What Catholicity and Communism Have in Common. By D. A. Lord. (Queen's Work, 3742 W. Pine Boulevard, St. Louis, Mo.) Detailed comparison of similarities and contrasts.

Communism and American Youth. By H. S. McDevitt. (America Press, 461 Eighth Avenue, New York City.) Actual study of American conditions. Contents: Communists perverting youth. Communism in American education.

A Cure for Communism. By R. A. McGowan. (National Catholic Welfare Conference, 1312 Massachusetts Avenue, N. W., Washington.) Cure lies in the creation of a new social order.

Catechism of Communism for Catholic High School Students. By a Passionist Father. (Paulist Press, 401 59th Street, New York City.) Nature of Communism and of the Catholic social and civic ideals.

Why Catholics Condemn Communism. By Pope Pius XI. (National Catholic Welfare Conference.) Excerpts from papal documents.

The Tactics of Communism. Monsignor Sheen. (Paulist Press.) Catechism of the communistic program portrayed largely through extracts from their official publications.

Communism in the U. S. A. By Joseph Thorning. (America Press.) Analyzes Communist membership, organization, and technique. Arranged for study club use.

The Communistic Crisis. By J. A. Vaughan, S.J. (Our Sunday Visitor Press, Huntington, Ind.) Catholicism vs. Communism in a vest pocket pamphlet that strikes a telling blow.

Communism. By L. Watt. (International Catholic Truth Society.) Fundamental principles.

Spain in Arms. By E. L. Curran. (International Catholic Truth Society.) Study of the current revolt.

Spain's Struggle Against Anarchy and Communism. By G. Diez. (Paulist Press.) Spanish history and politics, especially since 1931. Compiled by Eugene P. Willing from *Brooklyn Tablet*, January 2 (N. C. W. C. features).

It Is Happening Here. By Bishop Noll, of Fort Wayne, Ind. (Our Sunday Visitor Press, Huntington, Ind.)

Property and Catholic Morals. *The American Review*, November, 1936. Mr. Eric Gill contributes a very able and stimulating article on "Property and Catholic Morals." Some of his contentions seem rather extreme, but he ably champions "the restoration of liberty by the distribution of property." Mr. Gill warns the clergy that they may easily lose contact with the toiling masses. He considers modern industrialism "inhuman," and stresses that the right of private property is "social." "The whole fabric of our mass-producing, machine-using civilization is based upon unchristian assumptions." "We must return to widespread private ownership of the means of production." To Mr. Gill "modern progress" is largely baleful "townization." Even the clergy have accepted, and some have even lauded, "the dope that the progression from man-made to machine-made, from small workshops to large combines," is "progress." Mr. Gill's views are doubtless rather extreme, but his essay merits careful thought.

The Suppression of Facts. *Our Sunday Visitor*, January 24, 1937.

Westbrook Pegler, the columnist, seems to take a great delight in defending the existence, if not the cause, of the Communist. Like most writers who prepare syndicated copy for a large number of newspapers, Pegler seems to be neither a philosopher nor a historian.

His manner of reasoning in relation to the Spanish situation seems to be this: Communism has risen up from the people; therefore the people must have been inhumanly oppressed; and since the Church controlled the lives of the Spanish people for centuries, on the shoulders of the Church must be placed all the blame for this oppression.

Now, as a matter of fact, Communism did not rise up from the people. For 18 years Soviet Russia planned and plotted the overthrow of the Spanish Monarchy, and the inauguration of another Soviet Republic. In the spring of 1931, as Pegler should know, the monarchy was overthrown, not by the common people who had reacted unfavorably against it, but by organized terrorists. Pegler should know that when the people went to the polls a year later they asserted themselves overwhelmingly against Communism. This did not, however, deter the enemy. It rather led the Communist to make friends with the Socialist, the syndicalist, the anarchist, and with all who were somewhat "Leftist" in their leanings. After careful plotting, the United Front was formed to carry the elections last year. The conservative element was unaware of this new desperate attempt on the part of radicals to get control over the government once more. Even the coalition of radicals of these various types failed to poll a majority vote. But they took control of the government just the same. It was then that the Rebel movement was formed, in order to recover the government for the people.

Like many other news interpreters today, Pegler sees the civil war struggle in Spain as a conflict between Communism and Fascism, and acts on the assumption that the conflict has had that aspect from the beginning, with the Church on the side of Fascism.

Now, as a matter of fact, Fascism was not even a factor in the Spanish conflict until a few months ago. The Church had urged her people to support the democracy which was initiated after the first defeat of the Communists in the 1933 elections. Spain was then on the road to democracy pretty much as we understand it in this country, but the Communists would have no democracy.

Westbrook Pegler, and many other columnists, seem to need the reminder that Communism is anything but republicanism; that we would probably have no Fascism anywhere in the world if we had not previously had Communism; that Communism has never been demanded by the people at large, but has been imposed on them; that economic equality, which is the main objective of Communism, must needs be accompanied by the complete abolition of personal, civil, and religious liberty. A popular democratic uprising would be worthy of the support of all newspaper men; but such was not the genesis of the civil war in Spain; such was not even the genesis of Bolshevism in Russia.

Father Parsons Answers Pegler's Attack—Reaffirms Communist Threat. *The Hoya*, Georgetown University, January 20, 1937.

Those of you who make it a habit to read the local morning newspapers may have been interested to observe the criticism launched at the Rev. Wilfrid Parsons, S.J., last week, by that widely syndicated columnist, Westbrook Pegler. Father Parsons had written an article on the Communistic threat to the United States for publication in the *Columbia*, and Mr. Pegler, in reviewing that article, took occasion to differ with several of the author's conclusions. He said in particular that "I do not agree, however, that there is a choice between the evils of Communism and Fascism, and I view with almost equal alarm his contention that there is."

MISQUOTED

We are fortunate enough to have Fr. Parsons with us here at Georgetown, and we took advantage of the opportunity to go to him personally for his answer to Mr. Pegler. The former editor of *America* told us that he had indeed stated that several countries in Europe had unfortunately found themselves in such a predicament that rather than succumb to Communism it was necessary to choose the lesser of the two evils and accept a Fascist government. "Fascism," he said, "was the reaction of the middle class to the menace of Communism, but not an end in itself. I did not, however, as Mr. Pegler asserts, in any way maintain that America was faced with this same set of alternatives. Indeed, I stressed the fact that our one salvation lies in jealously preserving our American democratic system and that we must protect ourselves against the Communist inspired propaganda that there is no choice other than that between the social orders of Communism and Fascism."

THE ARTICLE

Fr. Parsons' article, published in the January issue of the *Columbia*, was entitled "Shall We Choose War?" In it he calls attention to the sinister pressure that is being brought to bear upon the people of this country in an effort to win their sympathies for the Communist cause in the event of war in Europe. He says: "Yet there is amongst us a very active element seeking to involve us in

this war. I am not referring to the foreign propagandists this time. I mean all those radicals, left wingers, liberals, Communists, who are preaching the Popular Front idea in an American dress. The idea is that we must ally with the Communists against the Fascists in defense of democracy. That looks like the height of stupidity, for is anything less democratic than Communism?"

"BLINDNESS"

"Blindness," he continues. "This is pro-war propaganda with a vengeance. It is just a very clever way of preparing us for a war against Italy and Germany in the interests of Russia, for Sovietism is the only thing that can possibly profit by it. Then, when we accept the possibility of that Communist-democratic idea, it is only a short step to espousing it. And when the war begins, then will come the propaganda to get us into it—the War to Save Democracy."

"WORSE OF TWO"

"Even when we protest that we (the Church) hate both of them, but that Communism is the worse of the two, they still say this is a subterfuge in favor of Fascism—as if there were no such thing as a choice between two evils. It is precisely because we do not have to make this choice in this country that I say we must stay out of this war. But the choice is before the rest of the world, and the Communists are trying to force it on us, so that we may go to war beside France in defense of Soviet Russia."

REACTION TO POVERTY

We had intended to ask Fr. Parsons one other question in reference to Mr. Pegler's attitude. The newspaperman had referred to Communism as "the reaction to poverty, oppression, and the exploitation of the masses by the few," and blamed those now fighting Communism in Spain for bringing it onto themselves by their past indifference to the unhappy plight of those who had espoused it. But Fr. Parsons anticipated our curiosity with these words: "In this I agree with Mr. Pegler, that the inequalities of the social order must be corrected if we are to avoid Communism. Unfortunately, this was not done in Spain."

Bureaucracy Irks Soviet Industries. By Harold Denny, in *New York Times*, January 3, 1937.

Moscow, Jan. 2.—This week's order to plants of the Commissariat of Heavy Industry to reorganize their office staffs along American lines is the latest of many attempts to conquer bureaucracy, which is one of the greatest single concrete handicaps upon Soviet development. Fully recognizing the evil, the Kremlin has thundered against it again and again, orders to curtail it have been issued, and the very word "bureaucrat" has been officially made an epithet almost as damning as "counter-revolutionary." Yet the evil persists.

There are two reasons for bureaucracy here, one Russian, one Soviet. Bureaucracy was one of the most notorious faults of the old Czarist régime. The tendency toward it seems to be ingrained in the Russian character. But the Soviet régime offers a field for bureaucracy enormously greater than ever existed before the revolution. For here all industry and all agriculture except a negligible amount still in private hands have been socialized, so that almost every adult inhabitant is a government employee.

FEAR MAKING DECISIONS

The nature of the Soviet régime acts in still another way to enlarge and intensify bureaucracy. This being a dictatorship, it is often a serious matter to make a mistake. This fact causes minor executives, and even some not so minor, to hesitate to use their initiative. Rather than make decisions themselves, they prefer to pass the responsibility

to some one higher or to devise sets of safe regulations govern all ordinary cases. This is the direct reverse of American practice, where the heads of industries appoint incompetent executives and expect them to make their own decisions.

As a result of this buck-passing, the simplest activities are smothered in red tape, and the highest executives—who are the hardest-working men in the world—must use valuable time and energy settling minor questions which could have been settled far down the line.

A few years ago industrial executives and engineers were being tried as wreckers when some original plan they devised went wrong. The Soviet long since saw the suicidal nature of that policy and has corrected it. But it instilled a fear of making decisions which still persists. That is at the bottom of the practice denounced by heavy-industry leaders this week of surrounding every technical process with mountains of paper work.

PRACTICE IS COSTLY

The burden of these hordes of clerks, who not only produce nothing but strangle production departments in red tape, is incalculable. Undoubtedly, it plays a big part in the shocking cost of nearly everything the Soviet citizen must buy. Heavy-industry executives assert that paper work increases the cost of many goods from 1 to 400 per cent.

Soviet industries have drawn liberally from the American example in its industrial processes, and though young Soviet engineers are sometimes overconfident as the result of the glorification they are receiving, responsible leaders are still cautioning them that they have much yet to learn from America. But American office practices have been largely avoided because they are considered unadapted to the Socialist State. The sharp criticism last week by Gregory K. Ordjonikidze, Commissar for Heavy Industry, was intended to disabuse them of that feeling.

The Popular Front in Spain and France. *Studies*, December, 1936. By Francis Joy, S.J.

This article abounds with most important factual data concerning Dimitrov's brain-child, the Popular Front, in Spain and France—its origin, policy, and final aim. It seeks "to unite, not only the working class, but also the peasantry, petty-bourgeoisie, 'left' Catholics—as many as possible against the common enemy—Fascism." All, of course, who oppose Communism are lumped together as "Fascists." Its policy is peaceful penetration; its final aim the triumph of Communism. "The Trojan Horse has already been introduced into Spain and France—with what fatal result for Spain we learn day by day; with what fatal result for France, we may learn tomorrow."

The End of Socialism in Russia. *Harpers*, February, 1937.

Max Eastman, in this article, seems to prove his thesis that the U. S. S. R. has ceased to be a Socialist State, so far as Stalin's régime drifted from the principles of Marx and Lenin. "The assertion that they are 'building a classless society,' and that 'Socialism is finally and irrevocably achieved in the Soviet Union' are classic instances of this universal self-deception. . . . The restoration of class privilege and the undermining of the foundations of Socialism are in full swing. Within 10 years, barring revolutionary changes, the Soviet State bids fair to be as reactionary as any country which has emerged from feudalism. . . ." Mr. Eastman had written an article based on the "raptures" of authorities who had visited the Soviet Union, saying everything good he could possibly find about it. That was in the summer of 1934. "After writing the article, however, I put it away in my desk as an

anachronism. The conditions it described were disappearing as I wrote. Of the fundamental ones, those three which stand in most vital relation to the property system and the future—education; women's freedom and the family; peace, war, and patriotism—there is now but a memory left." All of Socialism's principles were "swept away by the 'Decree on Academic Reform' published by Stalin's government on September 4, 1935. *Pravda* now speaks of "the Holy Instinct of Motherhood" and of women's rights and duties." Chivalry and knighthood, once spoken of "with bitter execration by Russian revolutionaries," are once again in vogue. "As to the foundation laid by Lenin of a revolutionary policy and high public temper upon the problems of peace, war, and patriotism, there is not the shadow of it left. . . . Stalin himself 'fully approved the national defense policy of France in keeping her armed forces on a level required for security,' (when) to 'vote war credits' even after a world war began, was the crime of treason to Marxian principles, which caused Lenin to abandon the Second International and the word 'Socialism,' and form a third for which he took the uncorrupted term 'Communism' from the banners of the civil wars of 1848. In the name of Lenin, the Third International now supports the armies of imperialistic governments in time of peace. . . . *Pravda*, the official organ of Lenin's Party, hauls down the Marxian banner, 'Workers of the World, Unite,' and runs up the slogan of all mad dogs of war, 'Defense of the Fatherland Is the Supreme Law of Life.' . . . It is only necessary to add that this abandonment of every vestige of Lenin's policy of Socialist internationalism has been followed by a reorganization of the army on the western plan, abolition of the militia system; restoration of the titles, rank, and privileges of officers; and revival of the uniforms and special rights of Cossack troops. . . . The new constitution is nothing but a sweeping out of the refuse of workers' rule to make way for a totalitarian state not different in essence from that of Hitler or Mussolini. . . . The real state, under Stalin's constitution, is still to be the Communist Party, now nothing but a pyramid of bureaucrats supporting Stalin, who will operate this unwieldy 'parliamentary' monster and make it produce votes just as at the county fair a cardboard cow produces milk."

Communism—Once More. By Michael Williams, in the *Interracial Review*, December, 1936.

Father Maguire, as guest editor last month, put before the readers of the *Interracial Review* such an admirably clear and forceful presentation of the danger of Communism, and of the duty of all Catholics to combat its influence in America, that it may seem very unoriginal on my part to return to that subject so soon. But I agree with Father Maguire so strongly, that I feel impelled to add my words to what he said, directing them to a particular phase of the subject which I am afraid is in danger of being neglected by Catholics. It may be alleged by some that the results of the presidential campaign went far to prove that the danger of Communism had been grossly exaggerated, because the vote for the Communist ticket was almost ridiculously small. I think that it was indeed true that the clamor about Communism, in so many newspapers, and so great a flood of speeches, was out of all proportion to the facts in the case—that is, in so far as the anti-Communist campaign was directed against the Roosevelt administration. Those charges were rightly enough dismissed by the voters. Nevertheless, it would be disastrously foolish optimism to consider that Communism itself was crushed by the elections, or that both its direct and indirect influence does not remain to be dealt with.

As Father Maguire says, when Pope Pius XI described Communism as the greatest danger in the world today, he did not think that America is immune. There is a religious zeal, a religious force, to Communism, simply because Communism is itself a religion—a false religion, to be sure, but one that has more than the driving power of Mohammedanism in its prime. And history tells us how nearly Mohammedanism came to the complete conquest of Christendom. Mohammedanism, too, was a false religion, but it appealed to the masses of the oriental countries where it arose as a deliverance from the oppression of a master class. . . .

Therefore, Catholics, both white and colored, must not cease to learn and to apply in action the clear, unquestionable teaching of the Church of Christ that calls for practical social and racial justice, on Christian principles, as the only effective and lasting answer to the danger of Communism. And more and more all Catholics should cooperate in that fundamental crusade. If we should be unfortunately carried away from our real job to join the forces of reaction and repression in our zeal to fight Communism, we shall do far more to promote Communism than to destroy it. Unless we are really zealous, as Catholics, to advance social and racial justice, all our thundering against the Reds will never make the people turn toward the Church—but rather will tempt them to turn against it, as Stalin tells them they should do.

Capital and Labor: Rights and Duties. By Bishop Alter, Toledo, in *Our Sunday Visitor*, January 10, 1937.

A condensed and authoritative statement on industrial relations, indicating the reciprocal obligations of both elements in production. It is wrong to emphasize the rights of one without admitting the rights of the other.

The Soviets Go Democratic. By Shepard Stone, in *Events*, January, 1937. A condensed but accurate analysis of the Soviet Constitution which confirms the estimate of that document published in the January *Informationes et Notitiae*.

Russia's Private War in Spain. By Lawrence Dennis, in *The American Mercury* for February, 1936. A well-documented exposé of the Communist influence in the Spanish civil war. The author points out how inevitably the Third International intervened in Spain from the beginning of the civil war and will do so wherever Communism finds an opportunity to advance the world revolution.

Mistakes to Be Avoided in the Struggle Against Communism. In *Letters from Rome*, English edition, February 5, 1937.

"Go to the working man," Leo XIII often used to say to the Catholic clergy.

Pius XI repeated this appeal still more urgently at the end of his encyclical, "Quadragesimo Anno," and who will say that the pressing exhortations of the Holy See have borne no fruit?

However, nobody would dare to affirm that the Church has completely succeeded in bringing back the masses to religion; alas, it must be admitted that hatred against the Church increases among the working classes to a very disquieting degree.

There is no doubt that Bolshevism has something to do with this, but there are other reasons that we should be able to eliminate. Too little is being done, and the methods employed are not always good. Sometimes the very thing to be avoided is the thing done!

We call attention here to some of these too frequently repeated mistakes:

(1) Often Bolshevism is quoted, when there is no question of Bolshevism. In the last few months, when the French workers made a statement of their claims, there were Catholics who immediately attacked them as revolutionaries, though their "revolution" was simply claiming what, according to the encyclicals, was theirs by right. *L'Action Populaire* went to the core of the problem and distinguished between what was just and what was unjust in this movement. The occupation of the workshops was unjust; but strikes must not always and of necessity be looked upon as Bolshevik methods of action. The fundamental complaints of the French workers were justified.

(2) Many Catholics believe that the social question is to be solved by charity alone, whereas it is really a matter of justice. It is more than ever necessary to insist on social justice in these days when society is in a completely abnormal state. Legislation will have to be entirely revised if, for example, we want to prevent the accumulation of vast fortunes in the hands of minorities while the masses sink deeper and deeper into grim poverty without hope of betterment.

(3) We must avoid causing the least suspicion that the Church supports systems and political parties which exploit the workers, and deprive them of their rights, even while speaking of them in conciliatory tones. These parties may allow the Church a certain amount of liberty in the exercise of its purely pastoral ministry, but that does not mean a Christian system. To judge whether a system is Christian or not, we must consider whether it leaves the rights of the individual intact, respecting human dignity and liberty. The most recent Pontifical texts leave no room for doubt as to this, and it would be well if Catholics took the same attitude towards political systems as the Sovereign Pontiff himself.

(4) We must be careful not to make promises in the name of the Church that we cannot keep. The spirit of Christianity has no longer a strong hold over modern society; a materialistic philosophy has permeated every domain of life, both public and private.

We are experiencing a perversion of Christian ideas, which had its beginning centuries ago, and has, in these last decades, assumed very distorted forms. We can, doubtless, proclaim to the world that we are working with ever increasing zeal for the restoration of a society founded on Christian ideals, but we are bound to admit at the same time that we do not expect immediate results.

This is the case even in Catholic countries where the enemy has not failed to "sow cockle among the grain."

(5) Let us be on our guard against underestimating the idealism of the workers. The fact that Bolshevism has so much influence means that it is founded on a doctrine. Bolshevik propaganda always works through ideas. It is ideas that drive thousands of Communists to sacrifice everything, even their lives; we must not make the mistake of attributing the dynamic force of Bolshevism to the formula, "*panes et circenses*." This supposition is only worthy of a "petty bourgeois" who knows nothing of modern "totalitarianism."

Consequently, to fight Bolshevism efficaciously we must do it in the name of an idea. A banner must guide us in the battle; a signal must call us to arms. The Christian idea must be revealed anew by means of powerful symbols and ardent enthusiasm. In many places where we come into contact with the apostasy of the workers there is one encouraging sign. Wherever we approach them with words of love, understanding, and sympathy, these workers open their hearts to receive the Gospel of Christ. The proletarians who have been disillusioned over the unfulfilled Marxist promises are waiting, in millions, for true redemption.